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Grinevskiy Cited on Progress at CFE Talks

PM2010155589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch: "Austria: The Third Round Was Successful, the Leader of the Soviet Delegation at the Vienna Talks Believes"]

[Text] Vienna—The first agreed document, concerning a definition of artillery, has been drawn up at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces. Its chief distinguishing feature is the preciseness of the wording. The document clearly states that all NATO and Warsaw Pact artillery systems with a caliber of more than 100 mm capable of hitting surface targets, chiefly from concealed firing positions, will be subject to reduction. In other words, it is a question of cannons, howitzers, mortars, and salvo-fire rocket systems. A list of more than 40 artillery systems on each side covers 2 sheets.

Here is how O.A. Grinevskiy, ambassador for special assignments and leader of the Soviet delegation, accounts for the success achieved:

"I will not hide the fact that this is the result of a compromise. It was reached thanks to the sides' agreement to exclude antitank artillery systems from the list. This last and third round was devoted chiefly to questions of information and verification. Whereas during the preceding two stages we determined that tanks, artillery, infantry fighting vehicles, helicopters, aircraft, and troop personnel will be reduced and then took the next step by agreeing to set different levels for these arms for the two alliances, our attention was concentrated this time on the exchange of information and on verification. The resolution of this problem is the key to ensuring confidence that the agreement is strictly fulfilled by everyone.

"The sides looked closely at the partners' proposals and studied each other's positions. The Warsaw Pact countries' delegations today entrusted me with submitting proposals on their behalf on a set of measures relating to information and verification.

"We proposed creating a simple, reliable, and economical system of verifying reductions in conventional arms. What is subject to verification? The initial data on the signed agreement and the more precise data at the time it comes into force. The agreed final levels and sublevels. Finally, the process of reducing and destroying arms, the temporary sites for storing the arms to be eliminated, and the disbandment of military subunits.

"On-site inspections are to be the main instrument for verifying compliance with the treaty, in addition to national technical means. A great deal in our document has something in common with the corresponding NATO proposals, and this creates the possibility of rapidly and efficiently agreeing the sides' positions.

"The pivot of modern-day European policy is not simply to reduce the vast mass of conventional weapons but also to create a system of political relations which could serve as a guarantee of security. That is why we are introducing new features to the negotiating process, such as a broad, ramified exchange of information on the numbers, structure, and disposition of troops throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, thorough monitoring which penetrates to all levels, including on-site inspection, and also stabilizing measures. Stabilizing measures are a new direction in the talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The socialist countries' delegations have submitted specific proposals for such measures. The essential thrust is to eliminate the danger of a surprise attack and increase openness and predictability in Europe. It is a whole system of measures which would keep the scale of military exercises in Europe, the calling up of reservists, and the concentration and movement of forces and arms within definite limits.

"The first accord has also been reached at the talks on confidence- and security-building measures which are being held in parallel. The decision has been made to convene a seminar at a high military-political level to discuss and compare military doctrines. As is well known, the Warsaw Pact countries put forward a proposal to hold such an exchange of opinions as far back as 1987, so I will not hide the fact that we are satisfied that this proposal is finally beginning to be implemented. We do not intend to play out propaganda battles at this seminar. The object of discussion must be the military-political and military-technical aspect of doctrines or, in other words, the structure, size, and disposition of armed forces. The main thing is to reach mutual understanding on the need to build military doctrines on the basis of the principles of reasonable sufficiency.

"If we are to judge by the real results of the last three rounds of talks, I can say this: The Vienna talks are not going too badly."

So, the third round is over, and the next one, the fourth round, will begin 9 November.

Vienna Talks Continue Wyoming 'Spirit'

LD2010203889 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 20 Oct 89

["Progress at Vienna Talks—TASS comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—By TASS Military Writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The third round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe showed that the spirit of Wyoming pervaded this forum as well, which is important to the stability and security of Europe.

The positions of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries have moved closer, and work has been started on the wording of a text acceptable to both parties.

As is known, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze discussed with U.S. President George Bush in Washington possibilities for removing obstacles on the road to the prompt conclusion of a treaty on substantial cuts in conventional forces and armaments in Europe.

There has been considerable progress in this area. The U.S. President made constructive proposals at the NATO jubilee session in Brussels, envisaging the reduction of aviation systems. The Soviet Union agreed in Wyoming that all tactical aviation, not only strike aviation, should be discussed at the Vienna talks.

Both proposals have already been submitted at the Vienna talks, and this cleared the path for progress. The specific definition of the arms to be reduced was started at the talks.

It should be noted that the sides have already agreed on the definition of artillery systems to be reduced. It will become part of a future agreement.

Cuts will be made in artillery systems with a calibre of over 100 mm, and capable of hitting targets on the ground mainly from covered positions. The list includes more than 40 such artillery systems on both sides. The definition has been arrived at as a result of a compromise that was reached when anti-tank artillery systems were left aside.

The positions of the sides moved much closer on the question of verification of the observance of the future agreement on forces and armaments reduction.

In Wyoming, the Soviet side roughly defined the approach of the Warsaw Treaty to the problem. In Vienna, the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed two new working documents which will undoubtedly help step up the pace of the forum.

The documents contain proposals concerning information exchange and verification, as well as stabilisation. In accordance with them, the parties would verify initial data of the agreement signed, the limits and sublimits of troops and armaments that will remain after reductions, as well as the very process of the reduction and elimination of armaments and disbandment of army units.

In addition to national technical means, on-site inspections will be the primary instrument of verification. Many things in the Warsaw Treaty document are parallel to NATO proposals that were advanced late in September. This makes prompt and effective coordination of these matters possible.

The readiness of the sides for an early drafting of the agreement is thus confirmed. President George Bush stated that it is desirable to conclude this work within six to 12 months. Shevardnadze said in Wyoming that the East has accepted the challenge. And now both sides confirm these statements by actions Vienna.

Cheney Cited on Prospects for Arms Agreement

LD2210083589 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 22 TASS—U.S. Defence secretary Richard Cheney said an agreement between NATO and Warsaw Treaty on cutting conventional arms can be reached "in the not-too-distant future".

In an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS News Agency before departing on a three-week tour of allied capitals, Cheney said the talks on this problem are "moving along in pretty good shape." "There are still a lot of issues to work out," the defence secretary pointed out. "But I think there is a sincere desire on the part of virtually everybody, including the Soviets. I am fairly optimistic we will get a good agreement." Cheney said the new treaty might be ready in a year or two.

He admitted that the latest changes in the international situation make the public in the U.S. and Western Europe less inclined towards increasing military allocations for NATO.

"As convictions grow that Mr Gorbachev and the Soviets...don't constitute the threat they used to, it's more and more difficult to get people to allocate the same levels of resources to their defense budget," he said.

However, Cheney maintained that "While it is perhaps more difficult to maintain alliance cohesion and unity at a time when there is this perception that the threat is significantly reduced, if anything it is more important."

CFE Talks Seen Producing 'Constructive Results'

PM2010101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 7

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch: "At the Vienna Talks. A Fruitful Round"]

[Text] Vienna, 19 Oct—Delegations of the 23 states representing the Warsaw Pact and NATO concluded the third round of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe in Vienna today.

What has this round produced? I recall that when it opened back in September, I filed a dispatch entitled "It Will Be a Working Session." My forecast proved correct: Both sides sweated blood, as the saying goes. Indeed, hard work produces results. The talks succeeded today in agreeing on the first part of the text of a future agreement—the definition of artillery.

This voluminous document is composed with military precision. It says that reductions will apply to all NATO and Warsaw Pact artillery systems with a caliber in excess of 100 mm and capable of hitting ground targets, primarily from indirect-fire positions. There is a list of more than 40 artillery systems on each side: Guns, howitzers, mortars, and rocket-propelled salvo fire systems occupy almost two pages.

When journalists at a press conference asked about the sources of progress at the talks, Warsaw Pact and NATO representatives made no secret of the fact that compromise was reached due to the exclusion of antitank artillery systems, both barrelled and recoilless.

Any round that actually adds something to the credit balance of the talks has its own special point. This element at the latest round was provided by the problems of information and verification. Their solution is indeed the key to ensuring confidence that the agreement will be rigorously fulfilled by all parties.

"We were in no hurry to lay cards on the table," USSR delegation head Oleg Grinevskiy said. "We looked carefully at the partners' proposals. Only then was I instructed by my colleagues from Warsaw Pact countries to submit on their behalf proposals on a package of information and verification measures...."

The proposed verification system can be briefly described as simple, reliable, and economical. It covers initial data, agreed ultimate levels and sublevels, the process of the reduction and destruction of armaments, locations for their temporary storage, and disbandment of military subunits. Observers here immediately noted that the submitted document has a lot in common with NATO's September proposals. It is to be assumed that final agreement on the sides' positions will be reached quickly.

What else attracts attention? Our country, together with its allies, persistently introduces new components into the Vienna talks process, like the ramified exchange of information on the numerical strength, structure, and deployment of troops from the Atlantic to the Urals, in-depth and exhuastive monitoring, and stabilizing measures.

Stabilizing measures provide a fresh avenue for talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The socialist countries' delegations submitted a specific proposal on them today. This is an entire system helping to eliminate the danger of surprise attack and to increase openness and predictability in Europe. It limits the scale of military exercises on the continent, call-ups of reservists, and the concentration and movement of troops and armaments. The restructuring of conventional armed forces and reduction of their offensive potential will become an important, if not the main, avenue.

Finally, the confidence-building measures. The first accord—to convene a seminar at a high military-political level to discuss and compare military doctrines—was also reached here. The seminar's objective is far removed from propaganda battles on the subject of whose doctrine is better. On the contrary, it will discuss the military building practice, structure, numerical strength, and deployment of armed forces.

These are the constructive results produced at the conclusion of the third round.

Progress at Vienna Arms Talks Assessed

PM2310085789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p5

[Igor Melnikov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent's Commentary": "Vienna: Balance of Interests"]

[Text] Vienna, 21 Oct—The third session of talks on confidence- and security-building measures on the European continent, which have involved all 35 countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act, has come to a close in Vienna.

The progress characteristic of the Vienna talks is still being maintained. The outlines of agreement are becoming visible in various—albeit not many at present—areas of the dialogue. The elements that will form the basis of the future document are accumulating in number. G. Small, head of the Irish delegation, described this natural pattern as follows: "The sphere of agreement at the talks is considerable and is continuing to grow."

The real success of this session has been to draw up the agenda for a seminar on military doctrines. The fact is unprecedented in itself. The 35 chiefs of general staffs of the European countries, the United States, and Canada will get together in a matter of weeks and discuss every aspect of their doctrines: political and military-technical. Quite a lot is being said informally in the Hofburg Palace to the effect that success in this area has been achieved thanks to the active efforts of the Swedish, Austrian, and Polish delegations.

"What other contributions have been made to military detente on the continent?" I asked special envoy O. Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation.

"Undoubtedly the exchange of information on the numbers, structure, and disposition of armed forces," he replied. "A high level of mutual understanding has been reached and specific proposals made. But, in our view, this exchange of information must also include information on naval forces in European waters."

In the course of informal conversations at the Hofburg I was confirmed in the idea that it is still rather too early, frankly, to say that the 35 states' talks have been completely successful. For example, the delegations have still to reach a common opinion on the central problem of the dialogue: Namely, what form the new range of confidence- and security-building measures should take. The Warsaw Pact countries are convinced that these measures should be all-embracing and extend to military activity on land, in the air, and at sea, envisaging substantial restrictions on this activity. However, the Western partners want to confine these measures to activity on land, leaving activity in the other spheres a closed book.

How can progress be made in these conditions? NATO proposes to concentrate on matters in which agreement has already taken shape and leave the disputed issues aside for the present. The Warsaw Pact representatives are also prepared to build on success in those directions in which it has been achieved. However, they do not intend to abandon efforts to seek agreement on those issues which are still open to dispute. The balance of mutual interests at the talks must be maintained.

Inspectors View Exercise Area in Turkey

LD2010125389 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—A team of Soviet military inspectors today completed the inspection of an area in Turkey where a previously announced exercise of Turkish land troops was held.

The inspection was held in accordance with the relevant provisions of the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

TASS Reports Gerasimov News Briefing 20 Oct

San Francisco Earthquake

LD2010145289 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—"Messages of condolences have been sent to quake-hit northern California by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Peace Foundation, the Soviet Women's Committee, the United Towns Association and many other Soviet institutions and organisations," the Soviet Foreign Ministery spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing here today.

The telegrams offer aid to the earthquake victims. The Ministry of Public Health of the USSR is ready to send a group of medics, consisting of traumatologists and surgeons, to the United States. The Ministry of Geology has offered to dispatch, at its own expense, a correspondingly equipped team of experts to carry out hydro- and Geo-deformational studies in order to assess the situation and make the necessary prognoses. A team of rescuers, made up of volunteers who helped to save Armenian quake victims, are also prepared to fly for California. Gennadiy Gerasimov called the briefing's attention to the telegram to Bernard Lown, president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Organisation, sent by its Soviet branch.

"In his reply", Gennadiy Gerasimov said, "Mr. Lown expressed gratitude for the condolences he has received."

The offers of Soviet doctors, Gerasimov said, have been brought to the attention of Secretary of State James Baker and to leaders of the American National and San Francisco Red Cross societies.

Lebanon Settlement

LD2010151789 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The Soviet Union is prepared to continue vigorous efforts towards ending the Lebanese tragedy, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The developments in and around Lebanon are watched closely in the Soviet Union, Gerasimov said. Due to the efforts of the League of Arab States Committee on Lebanon the situation there has normalized somewhat over recent weeks. The spokesman emphasized that the meeting of deputies of the Lebanese parliament in al-Ta'if Saudi Arabia, organized by the trilateral committee opens a unique opportunity to improve the Lebanese situation.

The plan for the settlement in Lebanon proposed by the trilateral committee to Lebanese deputies provides the means to balance the interests of the sides, Gerasimov said.

"The Lebanese now face the important task of making a historic compromise for the sake of reviving their country as a sovereign and integral state", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"For this purpose it is necessary to avoide advancing maximalist demands, to show absolute statesmanship, to look for mutually-acceptable solutions. There is no other way to national accord", he said.

The Soviet Union expects that Lebanese deputies, guided by supreme national interests, will be able to reach an agreement on a comprehensive settlement of the crisis, Gerasimov said.

Whatever the obstacles on this road, the dialogue should have this result. The Lebanese expect it, and the international community favours it, Gerasimov said.

Policy Toward Israel

LD2010172389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)- The Soviet Union's policy toward Israel remains unchanged, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate said at a briefing today.

The present stage in the development of international relations, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, is characterized by a deepening of the problems inherent in it; this requires the world community to widen the dialogue, involve all interested sides, and search for a balance of interests in each specific case. Optimal possibilities in this respect are offered by broad political discussison conduced within the UN framework.

"Our attitude toward Israel's policy is another matter," the Soviet diplomat continued. He stressed that the USSR advocates the cessation of Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, oppose Israel's trampling on the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and condemns repressions against the peaceful Palestinian population, and declared: "Israel's present policy on the issues of a Middle Eastern settlement does not yet give us sufficient grounds for subjecting that assessment to serious review."

Asia-Pacific Region

LD2010182189 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The Soviet Union, an Asian-Pacific state, has a natural interest in how economic cooperation will shape up in this region, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, told a briefing here today.

He made this statement in connection with reports about a ministerial conference to be held in Canberra early in November. It will discuss questions concerning the possible establishment of an inter-government regional economic organisation.

The conference will reportedly be attended by Australia, the United States, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, South Korea and the ASEAN countries. Other states of the region are not invited to the forum.

The USSR is interested in broad involvement in positive regional trade and economic processes, the spokesman said. "We devote considerable attention to the development of the country's eastern areas and to the creation of an adequate economic, scientific and technical potential there," Gerasimov emphasised.

The USSR prioritizes increases in bilateral trade and economic exchanges with countries in the region. It hopes to boost relations with regional economic organisations.

The spokesman stressed that the USSR understands ideas and proposals to establish equal and advantageous cooperation in trade, economy, science, technology and other spheres.

The Soviet Union wants to make this cooperation open for all Asian and Pacific states without any discrimination. It is ready to participate actively in a discussion involving all interested parties and fora on regional trade and economic cooperation.

Salvadoran-FMLN Meeting

LD2010215489 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—"The Soviet Union is not inclined to assess only pessimistically the results of the meeting between Salvadoran Government officials and the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] in the Costa Rican capital," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The spokesman acknowledged the failure of the sides to reach specific agreements on ending hostilities and normalising the situation.

Gerasimov stressed, however, the importance of the fact that the government and the rebels had confirmed the need for continuing dialogue and agreed to hold another meeting in November.

"This gives grounds to believe that a breakthrough will finally be achieved in the solution of the internal conflict, which will lead to lower tension in El Salvador and the region on the whole," he stated.

Israeli Missiles

LD2110013789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 October. (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, today expressed the Soviet Union's concern at the work underway in Israel in the field of military rocket technology.

Speaking at a news briefing in Moscow, he recalled the TASS report in September of the launch of a ballistic missile by Israel. The U.S. press has confirmed this, continued the diplomat, pointing out that Tel Aviv recently completed work with pretoria on a medium-range missile.

"It is becoming evident, stated Gennadiy Gerasimov, that a new and highly dangerous spiral in the regional arms race is unwinding, one which is capable of destablizing not only the military-political situation in the Middle East but also reaching beyond its borders."

After appealing for an end to militaristic fervor in the region, he emphasized that practical steps toward demilitarization would improve the atmosphere and facilitate the quest for ways to establish peace and stability.

British-Argentine Accords

LD2110014389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1853 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—Many Soviet institutions and organizations have sent telegrams of condolences to northern California in connection with the disaster which struck the inhabitants of that area, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported today at a briefing. These organizations and institutions, he noted, have also offered concrete aid. [passage omitted]

He commented upon the results of the recently ended meeting in Madrid between representatives of Argentina and Great Britain, which have officially declared "the end of the state of war" and have announced the lifting of restrictions on trade and economic links broken in 1982. Gennadiy Gerasimov welcomed the accords reached in Madrid and voiced the opinion that the mutual desire to find compromise solutions at the negotiating table and to preserve and develop positive elements of mutual understanding, demonstrated in the course of the meeting, serve not just the cause of normalizing relations betwen Argentina and Great Britain but also of strengthening stability throughout the world.

Gorbachev Greets 'Developing Countries' Conference

LD2010123189 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has addressed greetings to the international conference on problems of developing countries in the contemporary world which opened here today.

"I heartily greet your forum", the document says. "The progress of developing nations is directly associated with mankind's destinies in the contemporary, increasingly interdependent world. We attach fundamental importance to the strengthening of their positions in the world community, to their equality in world economy. We are interested in the enhancement of their role in all areas of international policy—from disarmament to human rights which are incompatible with vestiges of colonialism, with racism and national and political discrimination.

A policy based on new thinking, a policy advocating freedom of option, principles of balanced interests, independence and non-interference in domestic affairs, fairness in overcoming backwardness and indebtness, unconditonal respect for national inimitability and mutually advantageous cooperation meets the interests of all nations and of world development in general.

I wish your conference, and all the social forces represented on it, success in their work for the good of your countries, for the cause of peace, freedom and progress".

Official Urges Loosening of COCOM Rules

90UI0044A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Petr Parkhitko: "Disagreements Notwithstanding"]

[Text] A 2-day session of the executive committee for the Coordinating Committee to monitor exports to the socialist countries (COCOM) has ended in the French capital. Western observers have been forced to the unanimous conclusion that as before the United States will block any attempts to move away from the discriminatory policy of restricting and banning deliveries of a whole series of goods and technologies. We recall that in addition to the United States, this organization also includes all the NATO countries and also Japan and Australia.

According to numerous reports from the news agencies, the U.S. representatives in the committee did not agree with the proposals put forward by a number of the West European countries and Japan to make significant cuts in the notorious "COCOM lists." Here, the main disputes arose about the question of possibly removing all restrictions on the export of metalworking machines. One of those attending the meeting held by REUTER admitted that "the present COCOM list is outdated and confusing and causes technical difficulties. Many governments believe that it is necessary to remove all restrictions on trading in machine tools."

In this connection it is superfluous to recall that the U.S. Administration is speaking out in favor of expanded trade and economic links with the USSR and other socialist countries. Top level statements have been made across the ocean on more than one occasion to the effect that perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the transformations in other socialist countries are creating unprecedented opportunities for the expansion and deepening of cooperation and dealings with the West. However, as the results of the Paris session have shown, it is precisely the stance of the American side that has hampered the adoption of any kind of constructive decisions.

Notwithstanding, even though those attending the Paris meeting failed to reach a unanimous opinion on the problems discussed because of the "special position" of the United States, it can be stated that most of its participants displayed an obvious desire to end the stereotypes of the past. The committee did adopt a decision once again to discuss the issue of changing the West's export policy under the conditions of the changes taking place in the socialist countries at the upcoming Paris meeting of representatives of the COCOM member countries in October.

UN General Assembly Debates Halting Terrorrism

LD2110121489 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov: Hijacking and blowing up aircraft, staging attacks on sea vessels, taking hostages and abducting people—these bloody deeds of terrorists have become unfortunately one of the typical features of the modern world, which cannot but cause serious concern of the entire world community. A search for new forms of cooperation in eradicating terrorism featured prominently in many speeches at the Sixth Committee on legal issues of the U.N. General Assembly, which completed its debate on terrorism.

Representatives of 65 countries displayed a higher degree of readiness to take specific actions in this direction. A number of socialist countries, including the USSR, took the more active position by proposing measures designed to effectively curb international terrorism. The United Nations could play a significant role in this.

A U.S. representative stated readiness to consider these proposals in a positive way. On the whole, speeches by the U.S. representative showed that the United States is giving up its former attempts to link without any proofs the national liberation struggle with the problem of international terrorism. Representatives of developing countries spoke at length on the need to divide these two notions. They also raised issues of international terrorism in regard with the situation in the Middle East and Israeli Actions.

The Soviet representatives stressed the need to denounce unconditionally and resolutely any forms of terrorism. He noted that the point of departure in such issues should be the primacy of human life, protection of freedom and dignity of every man. It should be acknowledged that far from all means can be used to attain even the loftiest goals. Wrong deeds discredit even the most righteous cause, delay the implementation of the most cherished strivings and wishes, he stressed.

Although the debate was marred by accusations traded by representatives of Arab countries and Israel, as well as by the delegates of the U.S. and Panama, the debates were held on the whole in a constructive spirit and showed general striving to put an end to international terrorism, Chairman of the Sixth Committee Helmut Tuerk (Austria) said. This should have a positive effect on the elaboration of practical decisions by the Sixth Committee.

United States & Canada

James Baker's Statement on Aid to USSR Viewed

LD2210203889 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Oct 89

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov with Radomir Bogdanov and (Andrey Kochunov)]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen, I am Pavel Kuznetsov presenting Top Priority with Radomir Bogdanov and (Andrey Kochunov). First of all, let me on behalf of our panel offer deep and sincere condolences to our American listeners over the San Francisco earthquake which left close to 300 people dead and 2,000 wounded. Deep sorrow over the tragedy was expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his cable to President Bush, where he said that we can even render assistance if there is something we can do. The strength of the earthquake measured 6.9 on the Richter scale. That is the same strength as, with the one we had in Armenia last year, but fortunately this time the scale of destruction was not as extensive as we had and our commentators, television and in the press, are quite candid in saying that this is due to stricter building codes and better construction in the United States. So, we've learned one lesson from the Armenian earthquake and let's hope we'll learn another one from the San Francisco earthquake.

Now let's turn to the topic of our discussion, and it is an unprecedented statement by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on Monday 16 October, in which he said that the United States was prepared to provide technical assistance in certain areas of Soviet economic reform and he added that the United States wants perestroyka to succeed. Does this statement reflect the conclusion of the Bush administration that perestroyka is in America's best national interest and therefore it is a long term political commitment (?toward) it, or is it a tactical maneuver aimed at offering the Soviet leadership a trump card to deal with some dissatisfaction at home over the slow pace of perestroyka? What do you think?

[Bogdanov] My feeling is that...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Radomir.

[Bogdanov] This is very important statement. First of all, if you come back a little bit to the history you may state that that is, for the first time, for so many months, even years when the American (?side) states so clearly that they support perestroyka.

[Kuznetsov] I think it's the first time we're offered technical assistance since World War II, since the lend-lease (?terms)...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, yes, you are right, you are right. But your, you put very important question—is it, is it a decision, or its a propaganda move, its a maneuver or what is it? I believe as a professional Americanologist that this is not a propaganda, this is not, (?not a move which is aimed) to gain some cheap, good reaction this is strategic decision. That's my feeling. I may be wrong but that's my feeling. This is a strategic decision and I would like to make a link between more general assessment of the situation. We were talking so many times, Pavel, around this table and Andrey you remember, whether the cold war is over or it is still on. Maybe, I dare to say, maybe that's the (?beginning) of the real end of the cold war Maybe that's the line.

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] That's the curtain on it.

[Bogdanov] That's the curtain on it. Number two; let me put that question to you and to Andrey, how the Soviet people will react to that? This is an important statement for our people. We would encourage (?the people) that way. [laughing] We would encourage our people in perestroyka or we would make our people suspicious about it because some people may say, and they will say, aha! Look at the Americans, they like so much perestroyka that they support it, so there is something wrong in that.

[Kuznetsov] It is not the people who are going to say that, it's some conservatives.

[Bogdanov] Yeah...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] But, okay, before I ask my second question, let me respond to what you've just said. Im surprised that this statement, that our people have been, in my view, poorly informed of that statement in our press. It was reported on television, but like something we hear from the American side almost every day. Now let us briefly run through a list of American arguments which made the Bush administration hesitant and cautious about perestroyka. Number one, the United States was not sure that, whether perestroyka was fundamental and irreversible. Number two, perestroyka was described as much too destabilizing to be sustained. Number three, a reformed Soviet Union could pose a greater threat to the United States than the old orthodox, inflexible, dormant Soviet Union of the past. And number four, by siding with perestroyka the United States supports Soviet-style communism and that means that many people will be left languishing behind the iron curtain. Quote. Unquote. Now, seen against this background of doubts, what is America's particular interest in, in supporting perestroyka or in at least claiming it supports it? Andrey.

[(Kuchunov)] Well I would say that if we speak about irreversibility of perestroyka, whether it is for real or it is just a technical maneuver, I guess that it is now clear for this administration that perestroyka is for real, that there are at least some elements of irreversibility in the process and something that does not depend only on the personality of Gorbachev and people around him and from this point of view I think that the process of democratisation of the Soviet society and especially, you know, the sittings of the Supreme Soviet which is gaining more and more political power in this country is very convincing for Americans. The second issue you raised—should

Americans help perestroyka if it is doomed to failure, I think that now the Bush administration realizes it can be a self-fulfilling prophecy, if you know you are sure that it is doomed you can act on the assumption that it is doomed and in fact you help it to be doomed. So I think that now Americans understand that if they can do something to help perestroyka they should hurry up, because the situation in the Soviet Union is really very tense and you know sometimes the balance is very delicate.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, the thing is I gave you four arguments, basic arguments against supporting perestroyka that were issued, or voiced or expressed in the past in the United States. My question was about particular American interests in supporting perestroyka. (?Whether) America is going to be in a safer situation or what supporting perestroyka.

[Bogdanov] Yes, that's, that's the most important point. America comes, come to, comes to understand at last that a new Soviet Union, a new socialism, this is first of all a safer world, a safer world first of all for America. How you can explain, Pavel, for instance a statement of the commander in chief of the American forces and NATO forces in Europe, General Galvin, that within 10 years they are going to cut American troops in Europe? This is a coincidence with the statement of Baker, or this is the beginning of the realization of, of the new American policy? But at the same time, and I could, I could give you some more examples for, for instance, the latest polls which put European conservatives in (?panels) you know, show, that the American people does not worry any more about the danger of war, only 1 percent, only 1 percent of, of people said that they are worried about the war. Only ¼ of a percent, or something like that, were worried about the Soviet Union as a danger for them. This is something unbelievable for Europe.

[Kuznetsov] Let's get back to Mr Baker's statement.

[Bogdanov] Yes.

[Kuznetsov] Let's discuss it from all sorts of angles. Now the technical assistance offered by the U.S. Secretary of State has not been specified. We don't know what it's all about at this moment, but according to some speculations the United States is likely to move in the direction of lifting some trade bans and export controls and perhaps even to remove the Jackson-Vanik amendment. What do you think?

[(Kochunov)] Well, you know I'm not sure that if this amendment is lifted it will help a lot to promote Soviet-American economic relations, because the problem is (?not)...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] (?It's going) to be a political gesture, a major...

[(Kochunov)] I think (?it'll be), I think it will be a symbolic gesture, because you know there are not a lot of goods we can export to the United States now.

[Kuznetsov] (?Yeah, that's right).

[(Kochunov)] I think what can be important is American investments in the Soviet Union. And investments not as, you know, investments in some state, large enterprises, but rather to cooperatives, to maybe investments in some private businesses, in family farms...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Andrey, I'm sorry interrupting you. This is very important point of yours. We have to change then, if we expect American investments. We have to change the whole system which is existent today. We are not ready to accept American investments and all the (?problems)...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Yeah, Radomir, you, you scored a good point and I'm coming to that, I'm getting to that. When I watch debates in the parliament on television I get the impression that some people in the parliament, and I think they are farsighted and smart, take great pains not to antagonize some of their more orthodox fellow deputies by calling for a rapid transition to a Western style economy, a market economy. But at the same time when our economists, scholars, and academics meet with their American counterparts they pester them with questions about how to set up a stock market, how to write a bankruptcy law, how to shut down unprofitable enterprises, how to tolerate unemployment, and so on. These things are very strange to us because they are inherent in the Western economic system. Now, my question is this. Is this curiosity on our part or is it a signal that there is some change in our economic thinking and perhaps we are departing from the old values which are still referred here to as socialist gains. What is this?

[(Kochunov)] Well you know I think [word indistinct] I am raising the same point as you. Are we changing the economic system? You know I think there is a profound gap between the ideas of intellectuals here especially in Moscow and the moods and the attitudes of the electorate somewhere in the rural areas. People are still very dogmatic in many aspects and sometimes they are not ready to take these drastic measures and perhaps we, you know, to put it cynically, we need some sort of deterioration of the economic situation to make people understand that something really radical should be done about the economy and probably only maybe in a year they will start to think about such things as, you know, stock market and private enterprises and so on.

[Kuznetsov] Andrey I disagree with you in the sense that major decisions to this day are not taken in provinces, they are taken by what I would describe as a more enlightened layer of officials...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, but maybe your point, maybe your point is strong enough, but my point is also a strong one. You take very good decisions on the higher level but cannot implement it at all in the provinces. And if they are not implemented in the provinces the best decisions are just good for nothing. I'm sorry to say that...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] I think we are trying to change that by...

[(Kochunov, interrupting)] I would add that the process of democratization makes the problem even more difficult, because you know now people should think about their electorate, they should think about what, you know, people in the provinces really think and sometimes they can be more cautious. The deputies, probably you know they think about some radical changes, but looking at their electorate they are more cautious than they should be.

[Kuznetsov] Sometimes I have a feeling that Western politicians are more realistic about perestroyka than some of our people. I still remember an interview with Margaret Thatcher in the evening daily IZVESTIYA where she said that it had taken Great Britain 300 years to reach, to achieve democracy, while Soviet people want it overnight. Now the question is this: Could it be that the line on Mikhail Gorbachev when he tries to avoid siding with the radical left and at the same time he doesn't want to side with the diehard conservative right, that is steering the middle course, can prove correct? What do you think?

[Bogdanov] Well, this is a very good question, but this is the most difficult question and I, I am not ready to give any answer. Time will be the best judge. So I would...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] What do you think, Andrey?

[Bogdanov] What do you think, Andrey?

[(Kochunov)] Well, but still I wouldn't agree with Mararet Thatcher on this point because the society in the Soviet Union is not the same that was in the United Kingdom 30 years ago. Our society is rather educated, you know the level of (?transparency) is much greater, it is very pluralistic.

[Kuznetsov] Are you implying that democracy here can be achieved by a jumpstart like you would jumpstart a car?

[(Kochunov)] Well, I think that it can be really fast. Take the, for example, the example of Spain. You know, they jumped from, you know, authoritarian regime of Franco to democracy in about a decade and now it is one of the flourishing countries of Europe.

[Bogdanov] But don't forget, okay we will not start this discussion which is very interesting one. I cannot agree [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] Yes, time is running out on us. I have another question. On Friday 13 October there was a meeting between President Gorbachev and a group of senior Soviet editors and our president was quoted by the popular weekly MOSCOW NEWS as admonishing some of the Soviet editors. He was quoted as saying that our nation is up to its knees in gasoline and that it takes is just one spark. Secretary Baker made his statement on 16 October, on Monday, the next Monday. What is it? I mean this timing. Is it a coincidence or is there something that you would read into this? Andrey?

[(Kochunov)] Well, one can speculate that, you know, Baker had information about Gorbachev's speech and he wanted to calm things a little bit down, but...

[Kuznetsov] (?We're just) fantacizing, you know, it's...

[(Kochunov)] Yeah, it's only hypothesis. But I would say that the speech is very much to the point and it's a pity that it wasn't publicized in our media.

[Kuznetsov] Although there were some negative statements about our, (?the), continued involvements in regional conflicts [words indistinct] But I think that's, but I think that overall it was a positive statement.

[(Kochunov)] Yeah, and besides I think that there is some real contradictions in our (?poses) in regional issues.

[Bogdanov] My point is a little bit different. Answering your question I will put it like that: Statements like Baker's cannot be done with in 1, 2, 3 days. It has been prepared maybe one week before. (?So as) far as I understand [words indistinct] it is in the mechanism...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] So it was a coincidence. To end this program up here's my last one to you, Andrey. You have become quite a prolific writer and I read your recent article in the weekly MOSCOW NEWS about the outcome of Soviet-American talks in Wyoming and, you know, it struck me as being much more outspoken than when you appear on this talk show. Why, why is that?

[(Kochunov laughing)] Well I don't know. Perhaps you know it's really that the topic of my research, that's why, you know, I'm trying to be as explicit as I can.

[Kuznetsov] (?It's) arms control.

[(Kochunov)] Yeah.

[Kuznetsov] And we still have some 30 seconds left. What is the situation in this field between the Soviet Union and the United States right now, just in a couple of well-chosen words?

[Kochunov] Well, I would say that first of all we now see the light in the end of the tunnel at START negotiations. We reached some progress, sufficient progress in chemical weapons. But what I disagree with is the issue of nuclear tests. I think we could, we could...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Ban them altogether instead of...

[(Kochunov, interrupting)] or at least limit them. [words indistinct, speakers interrupt each other]

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, gentlemen. Our time is up. I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host on Top Priority, signing off. Our guests were Radomir Bogdanov and Andrey

(Kochunov), and on behalf of our panel we invite you to tune in again next time a week from now at the same wavelength. Goodbye.

Quayle, Baker Remarks At Odds on Soviet Relations

PM2310085189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "Between Old and New; How Washington Regards Perestroyka"]

[Text] New York—The speech by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to the New York Foreign Policy Association can be considered worthy of note. Baker's speech clearly and unambiguously formulated U.S. interest in the success of the Soviet Union's perestroyka as a national aim of U.S. foreign policy.

"We have reached this conclusion," Baker said, "not because it is our job to reform Soviet society or keep a specific Soviet leader in power... but because perestroyka promises Soviet actions more advantageous to our interests."

These interests are obvious to the United States: to establish stable, predictable relations with the Soviet Union based on a considerable reduction in the threat of military confrontation. The current administration, which for quite some time skeptically viewed the processes taking place in the Soviet Union as our country's strictly internal affair, has finally realized what we have been saying for a long time now: The fate of peace is inseparable from the fate of our perestroyka.

So what prompted the administration to reach this conclusion? First, statements by its West European allies which impelled the United States to respond to the new quality of Soviet foreign policy. This new quality is beginning to persuade even the most hardened skeptics in the West that the years of perestroyka attest to fundamental changes in the Soviet Union's course in the international arena. Despite the individual calls for vigilance made from time to time in the West (take, for example, the recent warning from NATO Secretary General M. Woerner), the prevailing tone is in favor of constructively reappraising the old approaches.

Second, the administration could no longer ignore the growing criticism inside the country regarding its weak, indecisive line in both domestic and foreign policy.

Influenced by this criticism to a certain extent, Washington evidently decided to use Baker's speech to clarify its attitude to one of the central events in world politics at the present stage: perestroyka.

There is reason to believe that the secretary of state's speech will put an end to the discordancy in the chorus of voices assessing perestroyka inside the administration itself. Let us remind ourselves of what was said about the perestroyka of Soviet foreign policy quite recently. R. Gates, the President's deputy assistant for national security, has publicly voiced doubts as to the irreversibility and fundamental nature of the changes in the USSR. U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney has predicted failure for those implementing perestroyka in the Soviet Union. Deputy Secretary of State L. Eagleburger announced in nostalgic tones that, under the impact of perestroyka, the "geostrategic stability" which existed in the "cold war" years is being undermined. In these conditions it was originally thought that Baker's speech would signal the end of all this confusion—if not in the minds of figures in the Washington adminstration then at least in their public appraisals.

What is striking, however, is the fact that it was the secretary of state rather than the U.S. President himself who made this program statement on fundamental issues. And Vice President D. Quayle, who stands higher than Baker in the U.S. table of rank, felt it possible in effect to take issue with the secretary of state over his assessment of Soviet-U.S. relations.

"Let them reform themselves," Quayle said of the Soviet Union in San Francisco—evidently to spite Baker's theory of U.S. willingness to help perestroyka. "The United States does not pin its hopes on one man," he continued in his speech in Los Angeles. "The Soviet Union is still our potential enemy."

You do not have to be a great analyst to realize that the tone of the vice president's remarks is quite different from the secretary of state's. It is possible, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes in this connection, that the White House intends Quayle's statements to soothe conservatives in the Republican Party.

...A few remarks about the essence of Baker's proposals to give technical assistance to the Soviet Union "in certain areas of Soviet economic reform." As far as one can see, it is a question of consultations with American economists on questions concerning the market, price formation, and enterprises' ability to compete. His exchange of opinions on this subject with E.A. Shevardnadze in Jackson Hole persuaded the U.S. secretary of state of the need to put forward his own counterproposals.

So, despite the continuing contradictions in the upper echelons, it seems that the U.S. Administration would like to take a step forward in the main strategic direction: in its conceptualization of the aims of U.S. foreign policy at the present stage.

Further Reportage on Thornburgh's Visit, Talks

Thornburgh, Yakovlev News Conference

LD1910204489 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh said that his visit to the USSR was a historic milestone in establishing coopertion between law-enforcement bodies of the USSR and the U.S.

Addressing a news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press centre today, he said that the first visit of a U.S. secretary of justice to the USSR opened the way to the development of contacts between leaders of the corresponding agencies of the two countries.

Thornburgh said that during the visit the sides discussed possibilities for establishing more effective cooperation in the solution of such transnational problems as combatting the illegal drugs trafficking, environmental protection, international terrorism and human rights.

Each of these problems was discussed during the visit by specially-formed working groups. The U.S. secretary of justice expressed the hope that this work might mark the beginning to permanent bilateral dialogue in these areas.

Soviet Justice Minister Veniamin Yakovlev who took part in the news conference emphasised that Thornburgh's visit is of special importance. it took place in the period of perestroyka, of cardinal changes in every area of life of Soviet society.

Yakovlev said the creation of a law-governed state envisages the use of the achievements of other countries in the legal area. The United States rich experience is also of much interest from theoretical and practical viewpoints, Yakovlev said.

PRAVDA on Lukyanov, Thornburgh Meeting

PM2010103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Talk With Minister"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has received U.S. Attorney General R. Thornburgh, who is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Justice.

The U.S. guest was briefed on the objectives of USSR Supreme Soviet activities in providing legal backup for perestroyka in the sphere of transformation of the political system, economic reform, the improvement of interethnic relations, and further strengthening of the constitutional guarantees of citizens' rights.

Questions of the development of contacts between the two countries' state justice organs, mutual exchange of experience in the sphere of elaborating and applying legislation, and in particular in the struggle with such dangerous forms of crime of an international nature as terrorism and drug addiction, were discussed during the conversation.

R. Thornburgh noted the usefulness of his talks with his Soviet colleagues, which form part of a broad U.S.-USSR dialogue which, he believes, has good prospects.

Taking part in the conversation were V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

Nazi War Criminal Memorandum Signed

LD1910205989 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Soviet Procurator General Aleksandr Sukharev today described the Soviet-American memorandum of understanding concerning bilateral cooperation in persecuting [as received] Nazi war criminals as "a document of goodwill in interaction of the two juridical systems."

The memorandum was signed from the American side by Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, currently on a visit here.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Sukharev observed that it was the first document of this scope to be ever signed by the two countries' Justice Departments.

The memorandum has legally endorsed the existing practice of Soviet-American cooperation in persecuting [as received], investigating and bringing to trial persons suspected of committing war crimes or of complicity in committing such crimes during the Second World War.

According to tentative data, there are some 10,000 Nazi criminals worldwide, Thornburgh told TASS.

The U.S. Department of Justice has a special investigations unit that handles this matter, he said. About 500 cases are being investigated.

Thornburgh said that representatives of that unit will meet colleagues from the USSR prosecutor's office to exchange archive documents and other materials about persons suspected of involvement in war crimes.

The memorandum of understanding proves the common aspiration of the United States and the Soviet Union to punish those who committed atrocities during the Second World War, Thornburgh said.

The signing ceremony was attended by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock.

PRAVDA Interviews Thornburgh, Yakovlev

PM2010152789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Yakovlev, USSR justice minister, and R. Thornburgh, U.S. attorney general, by A. Lyutyy and G. Ovcharenko: "The Law Is Paramount"—date, place not specified]

[Text] As already reported, U.S. Attorney General R. Thornburgh is visiting Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Justice. The purpose of the visit is familiarization with the Soviet legal and judicial system and the establishment of professional ties between the two countries' organs of justice.

Your PRAVDA correspondents met with USSR Justice Minister V. Yakovlev and then with U.S. Attorney

General R. Thornburgh. Since they were asked the same questions we felt able to combine their answers in a single publication. The discussion centered on the content of the talks, specific development paths, and the realities of the judicial and legal systems in the United States and the USSR.

Correspondents: What similarities and differences do you see between the role and functions of the justice ministries in the United States and the USSR?

Thornburgh: The U.S. Justice Department essentially combines elements of four different Soviet departments—the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the USSR Prosecutor's Office. I am not saying that we cover absolutely all the elements of those departments' activity. But we do handle many of the things that fall within their competence.

The U.S. Justice Department carries out the investigation of violations of federal law. The Department includes the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration. We also deal with immigration questions, run the federal prison system, and ensure security in our courts.

The attorney general is the U.S. President's main legal adviser. He recommends judicial nominees for appointment and advises executive department leaders on legal questions. The attorney general assists in formulating and drafting the administration's legislative proposals.

Yakovlev: The USSR Justice Ministry's powers and functions are more limited than those of its U.S. counterpart. In our country it serves as the basic working organ at government level and provides professional support for legislative activity.

It also ensures the functioning of the courts, the legal profession, and notaries. In addition, the Justice Ministry is required to provide methodological guidance and help in organizing legal work in the national economy and soviet organs.

Correspondents: During the talks the two sides familiarized themselves with the legal system in each other's countries. What benefit did the ministers derive from this and what advice were you able to give each other?

Yakovlev: Each system has its advantages and disadvantages but their analysis will have to wait for the future. After all, this is effectively our first meeting at this level. But it is already clear to me now, for example, that our ministry needs broader powers. In particular, the Justice Ministry, in my view, is called upon to be the central coordinator of the law enforcement organs. I believe that as the law reform progresses our Justice Ministry will acquire new functions and powers. But there must be no haste, we must not go too fast.

Thornburgh: I would not want to tell my Soviet friends how to do their jobs. However, both sides recognize the great advantage of an exchange of views. It was in this context that my interlocutors in the USSR and I talked about the importance of separating the functions of the legislature, executive, and judiciary for the purpose of creating a rule-of-law state. In our country the paramountcy of the law is ensured by the absolute independence of the judiciary. During the meetings my Soviet friends occasionally expressed concern at the fact that judges in the USSR were not always independent in the past. And in many instances they were even subjected to pressure by the party apparatus. If such things really happened that is a serious impediment to building a rule-of-law state.

Correspondents: Do you think that the legislature has the right to intervene in the activity of investigation and inquiry organs and the court? If so, in what instances?

Thornburgh: In the United States if we are handling a specific case, such interference is simply inconceivable until the case is over. Furthermore, this would even be a criminal offense. But when sentence has been passed in a case the legislative organs can change a specific law which would affect similar cases in the future. The legislature cannot influence the outcome of a specific case.

Yakovlev: Can the legislative organs interfere in the activity of the investigative or judicial organs? In the solution of individual criminal cases I think that the answer is no. The court and the court alone can dispense justice. It is wholly responsible for the legality and validity of a sentence, but if we intervene, check, and try to issue directives and commands once again we shall be depriving the court of its independence. In my view this is directly contrary to the idea of a rule-of-law state.

In general terms the supreme organ of power can create commissions and investigate questions connected, for example, with abuses by the law enforcement organs themselves or with their failure to act. But here, it seems to me, there should be no parallel investigation of criminal cases, no parallel system of justice.

Correspondents: Tell us about the content of your talks, please.

Thornburgh: We established a whole series of areas where cooperation would be desirable. For example, the campaign against organized crime, the drug business, terrorism, and environmental protection.

The United States and the USSR are parties to the Vienna Convention elaborated by over 100 countries. This convention ensures closer cooperation among states in calling drug traffickers to account. There is also a memorandum on collaboration in this sphere between the corresponding departments in our two countries. A special working group of U.S. and Soviet officials has indeed examined specific ways of expanding this collaboration.

There has also been a working group meeting on the environmental problem. A basis for cooperation was established. And questions of combating terrorism were discussed at a meeting with KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov.

In addition, the working groups discussed problems not having a direct bearing on the law enforcement organs. For example, they examined questions affecting economic activity—in particular, joint ventures and competition. We attended the USSR Supreme Soviet session where parliamentarians were discussing the draft Law on Ownership. The outcome of the debates on this question will be of tremendous significance for determing how far the U.S. experience in the economic sphere can be applied here.

Another working group discussed the problem of emigration from the USSR. At a meeting with Mr Ryzhkov, the head of government, we expressed the hope that the text of the new Law on Exit From and Entry Into the USSR will be presented for analysis by U.S. lawyers. The purpose is to be sure that free emigration has become a permanent policy in the Soviet Union.

Yakovlev: The attorney general and I agreed that at the end of the visit there will be some kind of document, most probably a protocol, in which we will summarize the results of the work in the past few days and map out some areas and organizational forms for cooperation and collaboration. We have prepared a version of such a document. Mr R. Thornburgh has also given thought to this document and has prepared a draft. It is indicative that when the attorney general compared the two versions it was striking how close they were. There is a basis for cooperation here.

Correspondents: Mr Attorney General, you mentioned emigration questions. In the past the United States criticized us for imposing rigid restrictions on emigration from this country. Now the situation has changed greatly and now from time to time you hear calls in the United States to limit the flow of emigrants from the USSR.

Thornburgh: The number of people wishing to leave the USSR is undoubtedly quite high. We cannot accept them all. At least, not all at once. But on 1 October we significantly increased our capacity for processing the relevant documents. In the United States we are trying to adopt legislation to raise the limit on the number of people we can accept.

Correspondents: How would you rate the degree of frankness of those people with whom you talked?

Yakovlev: I thought that the tone of our meetings and talks was very good. No one tried to raise difficult questions, cause arguments, or make claims and accusations. All that was entirely absent. The tone of our discussion was most satisfactory and encourages optimism.

Thornburgh: Our interlocutors were very frank in their criticism of the shortcomings of the system here. The meeting at the Moscow State University Law Department made a particular impression in that regard. I was told there that very few lawyers want to become judges. The Justice Ministry is even planning to double their salaries. The purpose of that is to raise the prestige of judges in the USSR. But it must be acknowledged that ensuring judicial independence is of great significance in raising the standing of judges. In the United States successful lawyers are prepared to take a 50 percent cut in salary just to become a judge. The reason is the extremely high prestige that judges enjoy. Such prestige is a necessary attribute of the rule-of-law state.

Correspondents: Judicial practice is impossible without mistakes. However, the process of eliminating them, altering a sentence, say, is extremely complex and inefficient. It sometimes takes years.

Yakovlev: Indeed the process of hearing appeals against the actions of law-enforcement agencies or the sentences and judgments of a court is far from perfect. But we are now working on this to accelerate the process and make it more efficient.

Thornburgh: I will touch only on the federal system of judicial proceedings. The inferior courts are the district courts. They hear specific cases, often with a jury composed of ordinary citizens. Either side can lodge an appeal against an interpretation of the law. This is heard in a court of second instance—an appeal court. This court does not touch the actual sentence, but solely analyzes the interpretation of the law. And in very rare instances the decision of the appeal court can be protested by the U.S. Supreme Court.

As for the defense attorney, he is involved in the court hearing from the very outset.

Correspondents: Debate over trial by jury continues to this day in our country. Some consider that it is the most objective and fair form of trial, others that it is inefficient. What does judicial practice in the United States indicate?

Thornburgh: Trials by jury work pretty well in our system. But there are quite a few countries which have a good judicial system and do not have trial by jury. The most important condition, in my view, is the independence of the judge. If the telephone rings in his chambers and he is told how to conduct the case, it doesn't matter whether there is a jury or not.

Yakovlev: One should not exaggerate the significance of trial by jury. I do not concur with the view that we can establish an independent court straightaway with its help. Trial by jury in both prerevolutionary Russia and in many countries today performs limited tasks. Some countries even refuse to use it, seeing more disadvantages than advantages to such a system. But at the same time I would not rule out trial by jury altogether. I think that this option could also be tried.

Correspondents: Under Soviet law a defense attorney generally begins his work when the investigation organs indict his client. But what are the relations between an American defense attorney and his client and the law enforcement and judicial organs?

Thornburgh: A policeman, for example, has no right to interrogate a suspect until he has been offered the services of a lawyer. If a suspect does not have a lawyer of his own, he is given one. That is guaranteed by the Constitution.

Yakovlev: I think that for us professionals there is no question here. Of course a defense attorney must be allowed at the earliest possible stage of the investigation.

Correspondents: The courts in the USSR do not accept as evidence material obtained by operational [operativnyy], that is, covert methods—concealed photographic or video recording and telephone tapping. Is this lawful, in your view?

Thornburgh: We discussed this question, incidentally, with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin. I told him that in the United States the authorities can use material obtained by such means. True, only when a court order has been issued. A written request has to be made which clearly spells out the reasons why the police consider this the optimum means of obtaining evidence of the commission of a crime.

Yakovlev: I think that we need to bring our law of procedure up to date. [Yakovlev ends]

At the end of the conversation the two top law officers stressed their satisfaction with the discussions, which have laid a good foundation for further contacts and expanding cooperation.

IZVESTIYA Interviews U.S. Attorney General

PM2010131389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

["Topical Interview" with U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Dvigantsev: "Combating Drugs Together"—date, place of interview not specified; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Every minute of U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh's working visit to Moscow was spoken for. The aim of the trip is to acquaint him with the Soviet legal and judicial system and establish businesslike ties with our law-enforcement organs. Before the trip ended R. Thornburgh met with IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

My interlocutor is 56 years old and has two degrees—in engineering and law. Plus a wealth of experience of juridical and state activity: He has worked as corporate legal adviser, federal prosecutor, and governor of his home state of Pennsylvania. He started at the Justice Department in the post of assistant secretary. President Bush kept him on in a ministerial post, like certain other members of the cabinet under the former U.S. Administration.

[Dvigantsev] Mr Thornburgh, tell us what your duties involve.

[Thornburgh] In short, the attorney general is the person appointed to tell the government and particularly the U.S. President the precise essence of the law. Seventy-six men have held this post since 1789, when it was established. The range of duties has greatly widened during these 200 years. The first attorney general dealt with the work himself, without even a secretary. Today the attorney general has 75,000 employees under him—of whom 5,000 are qualified lawyers. The system includes the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the criminal police, which investigates criminal cases linked with violations of U.S. federal laws, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Bureau of Prisons is in charge of the federal penitentiary system, and the judicial executive officer's department [vedomstvo sudebnogo ispolnitelya] safeguards the integrity of the courts and the entire legal system. The Justice Department also contains a Community Relations Service, which settles ethnic, religious, and racial problems. As you can see, it is quite a broad spectrum of activity.

[Dvigantsev] Cooperation between our two countries in the sphere of justice is only just beginning. Which do you think are the "hottest" areas?

[Thornburgh] Probably drug enforcement, the fight against terrorism and organized crime, and environmental conservation. We signed a memorandum with the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Control Main Administration on cooperation in the struggle to combat the drugs business in January 1989. Groups of experts are now working with me in Moscow to study the possibility of future joint actions. The drugs business is an insidious, ruthless, and powerful enemy and drug addiction knows no political or geographical boundaries. I think that it can only be vanquished by common efforts by all nations together. The Soviet Union has encountered this evil comparatively recently and U.S. experience may be useful to you.

[Dvigantsev] Did you also discuss this problem with Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB?

[Thornburgh] Not only with him. I must say that the very fact that the KGB chairman has met with a U.S. minister is a phenomenon... Of course, what I said does not mean that FBI and KGB staffers are going to conduct some kind of joint operation tomorrow. The mutual interest expressed by both sides is important.

[Dvigantsev] The broadening of economic ties—which people in both the USSR and the United States say they want—should also lead to more substantial contacts between lawyers. How do you see this process?

[Thornburgh] It is now at its very beginning, at the level of exchange of delegations. I think that it will assume a more businesslike character in the near future. For instance, a broad exchange of students and law lecturers, which I mentioned at a lecture at Moscow State University. Training visits for practicing lawyers in the business sphere also seem promising. Lastly, what is to prevent detectives and investigators from borrowing one another's experience?

[Dvigantsev] Is environmental protection included among the tasks of the U.S. attorney general?

[Thornburgh] Oh yes, its juridical side! And that is one of the most complex aspects. In my personal practice I encountered this issue in the post of governor of Pennsylvania during the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station in March 1979. That bitter lesson taught us a great deal. We realized how important it is for nuclear power station specialists and the forces involved in eliminating the aftermath of the accident to be competent. We fully realized the need for efficient cooperation between state and federal authorities and learned to resolve the complex juridical problems that arose as a result of the accident. I was a member of a delegation to the USSR in December 1979. We came to share the experience we had gleaned from the accident at Three Mile Island. It did not prove possible to achieve the sought-after results then...

I hope that experience of new cooperation in all spheres will be successful now, with the development of democracy and glasnost in the Soviet Union and the improvement of relations between our countries.

U.S.-USSR Antiterrorism Meeting Reported

PM2010111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Romanov article: "USSR-United States: Together Against Terrorism"]

[Text] Almost sensational reports appeared in the press recently that a Soviet-U.S. meeting had taken place in the city of Santa Monica (California). The participants included former senior staffers of the USSR KGB and the U.S. CIA.

What happened in that seaside city, which is, as it were, the continuation of Los Angeles along the Pacific shore? And what prompted people, with great experience of work in establishments whose very purpose seemed to doom them to be on different sides of the political watershed, to sit around the same table?

Santa Monica was the venue for a meeting of representatives of the Soviet and U.S. public, which tackled questions of the fight against international terrorism. It was the second meeting. The first was held in Moscow and was fundamental: A new forum for dialogue was formed there—an association of the Soviet and U.S. public under the motto "Joint Response to International Terrorism." It was then that a start was made on drawing up practical recommendations which, being addressed to both countries' governments, would embody that joint response. At the meeting in California things moved further: On the initiative of the U.S. side, the political experts, journalists, and specialists in international law were joined by veterans—grown wise through experience—of those services which are engaged in practice on rendering international terrorists harmless.

In the assessment of U.S. specialists, the United States holds first place among all countries as the target for acts of terrorism. Over the past 2 decades various terrorist groups have attacked U.S. citizens and U.S. installations in 72 countries, and there have been just 22 days during the past 5 years when terrorists have not held U.S. hostages. As for the USSR, attempts to hijack aircraft and terrorist attacks on Soviet officials abroad have led to our country finding itself in fifth place among the countries whose citizens and installations have become victims of terrorism.

Great concern has been aroused in public circles in both countries by the fact that the actions of terrorists could lead to serious crises in interstate relations. And these, in turn, could escalate into an international conflict or even a nuclear confrontation. There are researchers in the West who characterize international terrorism as "a form of miniwar on an international scale," and in this connection they even say that "World War III, which everyone pictured in the form of a nuclear apocalypse, has already begun and is being waged in the form of terrorism which has spread throughout the world."

In short, international terrorism palpably jeopardizes both the vital interests of the two countries and the fate of world peace. And it is possible to fight it only together. This is what was discussed at the meetings of the Soviet and the U.S. public. More than 30 recommendations were drawn up there for government organs, providing for a broad package of measures to prevent and stop acts of international terrorism.

Thanks to the participation of veterans of the Soviet and U.S. special services in the meeting, it proved possible to draw up an accord on setting up a special working group to discuss the question of exchanging information on international terrorism. This group will include citizens of both countries with experience of intelligence work. A recommendation was also drawn up that neither the United States nor the USSR should provide anyone but legitimate governments with weapons suitable for use by terrorists, such as plastic explosives and "surface-to-air" missiles. A joint run-through in 1990 of a model of the sides' actions in surmounting a crisis situation created by terrorist activity into which the USSR and the United States would be drawn, could be a substantial practical measure of Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the fight against international terrorism.

In addition to measures of this kind directed directly against terrorists, the recommendations provide for initiatives aimed at protecting the population against terrorist encroachments (explosions in crowded streets, department stores, the subway, and so forth). To this end it was proposed that the USSR and the United States coauthor a draft convention which would envisage that premeditated terrorist encroachments of this kind on the civilian population are international crimes. It is appropriate to point out in this connection that a code of crimes of this kind—crimes against the peace and security of mankind—is being drawn up at the United Nations. As a step along the lines of this international organization, both countries are recommended jointly to raise at the current General Assembly session the question of countries which are, as it were, a "safe haven" for terrorists.

Taking into account instances when the USSR and the United States have cooperated with a view to securing the release of their citizens taken hostage by terrorists, a number of measures aimed at further developing such cooperation were recommended. These include exchanging information on Soviet and U.S. citizens being held against their will in the Near East and in Southwest Asia, holding meetings to discover means of securing the release of such citizens, and setting up a bilateral mechanism with a view to maintaining permanent ties and cooperation in resolving crises which might be caused by the taking hostage of citizens of either country.

Considerable attention is being devoted to preventing the use by terrorists of nuclear weapons and other types of mass destruction weapons (chemical, biological, radiological weapons)—to "nuclear terrorism" and "technological terrorism" in general. It is recommended, in particular, that the USSR and the United States exchange information on terrorists acquiring the possibility of using such weapons and that the nuclear risk reduction centers which both countries have already established in their capitals be mobilized accordingly in the matter of preventing this kind of terrorism.

As for "drugs terrorism"—that is, acts of violence connected with the transportation of and trade in drugs, as evidenced by events in Colombia, for example—specific recommendations have been drawn up here, too. They include, in particular, cooperating to prevent the "laundering" of money derived from the drugs business, exchanging information on the production, smuggling, and spread of drugs in Latin America and Southwest Asia, and a number of other measures. It is recommended to promote cooperation between law-enforcement organs with regard to stopping acts of violence connected with the drugs trade through Interpol or other international organs or by means of mutual consultations.

The recommendations give considerable prominence to measures to prevent terrorist acts in such a "traditional" sphere for them as civil aviation. These include implementing joint Soviet-U.S. measures to remove portable "surface-to-air" missiles from the black market and also from the hands of nonstate possessors and prompting other countries to assist in this kind of removal.

The overall result of the Santa Monica meeting, as well as the earlier Moscow meeting, is not only the mutual understanding reached on complex and acute questions of the fight against international terrorism but also the very clear desire of the meeting participants for cooperation and their common wish that this cooperation should be elevated increasingly fully to an official level. Although there are, of course, many problems here. This question, let us say, arises: Are not the peaceful residents of Kabul who die in rocket bombardments victims of terror? A natural and just question. In short, the cooperation taking shape between the USSR and the United States in the fight against terrorism is largely dependent also on the cessation of the practice of crude, strong-arm interference in other states' internal affairs and the political resolution of regional conflicts.

Commentary on Push for 'Broader Powers' for CIA

PM2310082589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev commentary: "CIA Readying Itself"]

[Text] New York—CIA Director William Webster has spoken out in favor of his department being given broader powers in situations where "it is sometimes necessary" to give assistance in organizing and implementing conspiracies to overthrow foreign regimes disliked by Washington.

In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES he gave a transparent hint that the President and Congress should ease the restrictions introduced almost 15 years ago formally banning the CIA from involvement in political assassinations. A special executive order signed 18 February 1976 by the then-president, Gerald Ford, states that "no official of the U.S. Government must become involved in political assassinations or in conspiracies to organize political assassinations." Clearly, the words "official of the U.S. Government" primarily imply officials of the intelligence department, which was headed at that time by George Bush, now U.S. President.

James Carter and, after him, Ronald Reagan not only kept this order in force but even made it tougher: Not only officials of the U.S. Government were banned from involvement in conspiracies but "also anyone acting in the name of the U.S. Government." A foreigner recruited as a CIA agent, for example, could be considered as "anyone."

This presidential directive was adopted on the crest of a wave of broad exposures of criminal CIA activity and, in particular, repeated attempts by American intelligence to secure the assassination of Fidel Castro.

Note that the ban only concerns assassination. Involvement in conspiracies is not restricted at all. But, as far as William Webster is concerned, this is not enough. It is not enough because only rarely does a conspiracy not involve assassination: The people who are being overthrown get killed in the crossfire.

It must be pointed out that, judging by U.S. press reports, Congress or, to be more precise, its committees responsible for intelligence matters have interpreted the presidential directive quite unambiguously: Officials of the U.S. Government and anyone acting in the name of the U.S. Government are banned from involvement in operations which could result in political assassination.

"Would you like this interpretation to be relaxed?" the reporter from THE NEW YORK TIMES asked Webster.

"I do not think that you have misunderstood me," was the CIA director's rhetorical but nevertheless sufficiently clear reply.

Webster is not alone in this. Voices demanding that the intelligence department's hands be untied are now making themselves quite actively heard; this is perfectly understandable, because Washington cannot forgive itself for the fact that the conspiracy hatched in Panama has been a resounding failure, that the attempted armed coup did not succeed, and that General Noriega, who has long been down in the U.S. books as an evil enemy, remains in his post.

The administration is inclined to blame the failure of the conspiracy on those in Congress who have stuck to their rigid interpretation of Gerald Ford's executive order and who thereby deprived the CIA of the possibility of intervening more actively in the events in Panama.

Incidentally, the Webster interview appeared just a few days after it had become known that the FBI has been given a "legal explanation" from the Justice Department according to which the FBI will henceforth have the right "on perfectly legal"—in this department's view—grounds to abduct foreign citizens on the territory of foreign states without the knowledge of the government concerned. The only condition is that these foreign citizens must be deemed to be "on the run" and evading American justice.

The Justice Department has taken no account of the fact that the sovereignty of foreign states will be flouted and international law most scandalously violated as a result of such actions. It is said that even President Bush and State Secretary Baker were amazed by its explanations. But, so far no detailed reaction either to confirm or to deny these explanations has been forthcoming from either the White House or the State Department.

U.S. Using 'Strongarm' Tactics in Nicaragua

LD2010154189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 19 Oct (TASS)—TASS political observer Nikolay Chigir writes: The progress which has been noted recently in unblocking crisis situations in a number of parts of the world, including Central America, is clearly not to the liking of those circles in the United States which, as formerly, are banking on interference in the internal affairs of other states and on strongarm tactics. Nicaragua remains one of the objects of the activity of those circles. Evidence of this is the decision of both chambers of the U.S. Congress on allocating $9 million for financing the election campaign of the Opposition National Union, an alliance acting in Nicaragua.

Up to now, as is known, Washington has attempted to overthrow the Sandinista government using mercenary Contra formations, on which, according to official data alone, it has spent about $350 million. However, as is evident, the failure of the policy of supporting the Contras is far from signifying that the United States has renounced claims to decide the fate of the Nicaraguan people. The assertions of White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater that the allocation of $9 million by Congress at the demand of the Administration is called upon to "assure free and just elections" in Nicaragua will fool nobody. Even the U.S. press is writing about the complete bankruptcy of this and similar "arguments". Those members of the U.S. Congress who soberly evaluate what is happening, also speak of this. [passage omitted]

Washington's attempts create the impression that the Nicaraguan leaders intend not to permit free expression of the will of the people at the elections but to falsify their results are also unfounded. Such arguments are rejected even by the declarations of the representatives of the UN missions and of the Organization of American States, which are called upon to observe the preparation and conduct of the elections in the country. The facts testify that the government of Nicaragua has created the political and juridical guarantees for a free and democratic election process which is based upon equitable participation by all political forces.

The steps being undertaken by the United States directed at undermining this process cannot be assessed otherwise than as gross violation of the standards of international law which is based on principles of self-determination, sovereignty, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. These steps fundamentally contradict the policy of new thinking in international relations which is being affirmed in the world arena.

U.S. Bill on Aid for Nicaraguan Opposition Noted

LD2110215489 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 22 TASS—President Bush on Saturday signed a Congress-endorsed bill allocating nine million dollars to finance the election campaign of opposition forces in Nicaragua.

In a statement by Presidential Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, this move which in normal international practice is viewed as being tantamount to a direct interference in the affairs of a sovereign state, is referred to as yet another step on the way to democracy.

President Bush signed the bill with unusual haste at the Camp David country residence not far from Washington. The bill was signed into law only a day after it was endorsed by Congress. This makes it possible to immediately begin to transfer the money to finance the election campaign of the anti-Sandinista opposition. Elections in the country are scheduled for February 25.

Five million dollars will be assigned through the channels of the National Endowment for Democracy as 'direct aid' to opposition groups and are expected to be spent on the purchase of computers and other equipment.

The remainder of the funds is to be used for 'technical support'—the maintenance of groups to monitor the registration of voters and the polling itself.

Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomaws Borge described this U.S. step as immoral. Answering questions from journalists in Mexico City, Borge pointed out that the overt provision of the anti-Sandinista opposition with money by Washington was viewed with indignation in Nicaragua.

This step is immoral because thereby support for those who were adversaries of the revolution is being expressed by means of money, Borge said.

Pogodin on U.S. Policy on Regional Conflicts

LD2110170789 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Washington officials have been claiming with increasing frequency that the Soviet Union is building up its arms shipments to regions engulfed in conflicts which hinders the efforts to settle such conflicts politically. This is what Radio Moscow's Aleksandr Pogodin writes in this connection.

First let's analyze the situation in Afghanistan. Everyone knows that weapons made in the United States and in some other countries have been crossing the Pakistani border into Afghanistan uninterruptedly. Under the circumstances Soviet military aid to the Kabul government has to continue. The Soviet Union suggested a way out of the situation long ago—to reach an agreement on ceasing arms supplies to the warring sides in Afghanistan by all countries. This would be conducive to stopping the bloodshed and gaining national reconciliation. Unfortunatley this call did not meet with a favorable response in the United States. In fact Washington has insisted that the Soviet Union should stop its arms shipments to Afghanistan unilaterally. This stand is hardly in keeping with readiness to exclude the elements of Soviet-American and East-West rivalry from regional politics proclaimed by the Bush administration.

As for the Soviet Union, it stands for exercising restraint and responsibility in attitudes to regional conflicts. It stands for carrying (?on) joint mediatory work persistently. By refraining from confrontal policies in the various regions the USSR and the United States would create a powerful stimulus for other countries in terms of responsible approach. Let those countries lean on diplomatic advice and support from the USSR and the United States, not on Soviet and American weaponry. Certain steps in this direction have already been made. For instance the Soviet Union and the United States worked out a common attitude to the Lebanese crisis and firmly called for preserving Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The two governments proclaimed willingness to give the necessary assistance in the implementation of agreements reached between the presidents of Central American countries with a view to achieving a settlement in the region. As a matter of fact the Soviet Union refrains from shipping weapons to Nicaragua.

But serious differneces still remain in the Soviet and American approaches to several regional conflicts, including the war in Afghanistan. Only one conclusion can be made from all this, that is the need for redoubling the efforts to overcome all confrontation and polarization, writes Aleksandr Pogodin.

TASS Notes 'Delta-2' Launch from Cape Canaveral

LD2110211989 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 21 TASS—The U.S. Air Force launched a Delta-2 rocket with a Navstar navigation satellite from cosmodrome on Cape Canaveral, Florida, on Saturday.

According to Colonel Marty Runcle, spokesman for the Air Force, all systems are functioning properly.

A contact has been established with the satellite which was put into a tentative elliptical orbit and it follows commands from earth.

Information about this launch came almost one hour late compared to the one on an ordinary schedule of such launches. This is connected with the fact that tracking stations which transmit such data to the Cape Canaveral Control Centre were busy providing technical support to the current flight of the space shuttle Atlantis.

Canada's Mulroney To Visit USSR 20-25 Nov

LD2110195289 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—By an arrangement between the two sides, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from November 20 to 25.

China

Kolbin Leads Committee Delegation to PRC

18 Oct Departure

PM2010103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A delegation from the USSR People's Control Committee headed by G.V. Kolbin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, left for the PRC 18 October at the invitation of the PRC Ministry of Supervision.

The program for the delegation's stay in China provides for their familiarization with the activity of the PRC Ministry of Supervision and supervisory bodies in the cities of Beijing, Shanghai, and Canton and a number of provinces and with the work of enterprises in the Shenzhen special economic zone.

Meets With Premier Li Peng

LD2110183889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Beijing, 21 Oct (TASS)—As China moves along the road of reforms and external openness it has to make efforts for comprehensive strengthening of supervision and control on the scale of the whole country. This was stated here today by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, at a meeting with G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, who is heading a delegation of that Soviet Committee to Beijing.

The present activity of the bodies of supervision and control of the PRC, Li Peng noted, is, to a considerable degree, founded on the decisions of the December plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of 1978 which laid the foundations of the policy of cardinal reforms in the life of Chinese society. Recently, at a routine party Central Committee plenum, stress was once more laid on the importance of strengthening the work in this field, especially that of devising and implementing specific measures during the "formation of a squeaky clean honest government." The initial result of this activity is an improvement in the situation in the field of carrying out checks and exposing some major affairs.

The Soviet delegation is in China at the invitation of the PRC Ministry of Supervision.

Fourth Round of PRC Border Talks Open in Beijing

OW2210080889 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The fourth round of Soviet-Chinese border talks opened in Beijing today. The Soviet delegation is led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev, while the Chinese side is led by Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei.

Condolences Sent to PRC on Earthquake

LD2210021289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Council of Ministers has sent Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, a telegram expressing profound condolences to the government and people of the People's Republic of China in connection with the natural disasters, powerful earthquakes, in the Provinces of Shaanxi, Hebei, and Gansu, and the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, which caused loss of life and devastation. The telegram requests that sincere sympathy be conveyed to the near and dear of the dead and injured.

PRC Leaders' Thanks for National Day Greetings

PM2310100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[PRC leaders' message to Soviet leadership organs]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee
To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
To the USSR Council of Ministers

On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people and on our own behalf we express to you and, through you, to the great Soviet people our cordial gratitude for the congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the PRC's formation, and we send you and the entire Soviet people good wishes.

[Signed] Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee
Yang Shangkun, PRC president
Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council
Wan Li, president of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee

Northeast Asia

Mongolian Official on Arms, Manpower Reductions

OW2210080189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Oct 89

[From the "World Today" program; "Report" on interview with Colonel (Dorigotov), deputy chief of staff of the Mongolian People's Army, by unidentified station correspondent; place, date not given]

[Text] With regard to Mongolia's program to reduce its military spending and level of its armed forces, Colonel (Dorigotov) said: Mongolia has taken steps to cut its defense spending and reduce its Armed Forces in view of the situation that has taken shape in the region. These steps are being taken on the basis of a new concept; namely, the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, which has played a significant role in promoting the healthy development of the situation. I believe it is equally important to end the tension between Mongolia and China that has persisted for many years. We may say that the two countries' present relationship is normal and harmonious. Under such circumstances, a reduction in defense spending and in the size of the Armed Forces is a matter of course. It also should be mentioned that the funds saved from this course could be used to solve the impending economic problems and to improve the people's well being.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] By how much will Mongolia reduce its military spending and Armed Forces? When will this program end?

[Col (Dorigotov)] This program will be caried out in 1989 and 1990. Our military spending will have been cut by 11 percent, and our Armed Forces will have been reduced by 13,000 men by New Year's day 1991. It should be noted that 500 men will have been discharged before the end of this year. In addition, there has been a reduction of 1,280 officers at the present time.

[Correspondent] What is your reaction to the Soviet Union's plan to withdraw most of its troops stationed in Mongolia temporarily?

[Col (Dorigotov)] As everyone knows, one-third of the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia will have been withdrawn by the end of next year. This action undoubtedly is quite correct and of great importance. [end recording]

(Dorigotov) said: This is a significant contribution to consolidating peace and trust in the Far East. I wish to emphasize that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Mongolia and our arms reduction are measures taken unilaterally by socialist countries to relax military tension. Incidentally, I wish to stress that the Soviet Union will not withdraw only 75 percent of its troops from Mongolia, but also will cut the number of its troops stationed in various regions by 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Far East. Besides, (?Germany) has reduced its Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel by 1 million men, and the DPRK has reduced its troops by 100,000 men.

In conclusion, Col (Dorigotov) expressed the hope that the actions taken by the Asian socialist countries will evoke positive responses from the United States and Japan.

Korea Friendship Group Statement on S. Korea

SK2210055589 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Soviet-Korea Friendship Association denounced the intention of the South Korean authorities to suppress Rev Mun Ik-hwan, assemblyman So Kyong-won, and university student Yim Su-kyong.

The South Korean authorities are persecuting them because they visited the DPRK without permission.

The statement of the Soviet-Korea Friendship Association indicated that they urged the South Korean authorities to refrain from this kind of measure toward these figures.

More on Exhibition of S. Korean Goods in Moscow

PM2010140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[V. Vasilyev article: "Goods on Show"]

[Text] An exhibition of consumer goods made by South Korean firms opened yesterday in the capital's Polytechnical Museum. It has been organized by the Moscow mission of the Korean trade promotion corporation ("KOTRA") and "Ekspotsentr."

More than 10 of the biggest firms will show Soviet business partners a wide range of goods—from personal computers and video equipment to toys, bicycles and disposable syringes.

"We have been developing for too long without mutual contacts," Yu.-Kh. Son [name as published], general director of the mission, said. "Today many South Korean firms want to have as many points of contact as possible with Soviet enterprises and organizations in order to arrange business ties and to try to set up joint ventures. 'KOTRA' is called upon to assist in this in every way. The exhibition which has opened is one of the first steps in this direction."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Use of Singapore Facilities Criticized

BK2110123489 Moscow in Malay to Malaysia 1200 GMT 20 Oct 89

[By Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference in Kuala Lumpur, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said his country would allow the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy to use its military facilities. An agreement to this effect has been reached with the Americans.

What Lee Kuan Yew means to say is that U.S. warships will regularly be allowed to enter Singapore for repairs, and U.S. Air Force planes will be deployed on a rotational basis at the Paya Lebar Air Base. Singapore's decision to allow its territory to be used by the Pentagon has removed all recent doubts about the possibility of greater presence of U.S. military forces in Southeast Asia.

The ASEAN countries initially learned about Singapore's plan 2 months ago from a report that a U.S. team had visited Singapore to study the possible use of the island republic for strategic purposes. It was earlier pointed out that the United States was determined to surmount any difficulties, which are bound to arise, if the Pentagon has to leave its military bases in the Philippines. The United States once said it will not increase the number of its military bases in Southeast Asia and will use the existing ones only. However, many ASEAN observers have understandable doubts whether [words indistinct] because the bases in the Philippines will still remain for at least another 2 years. The fate of the bases after that will be decided at bilateral talks scheduled for December.

However, as a result of the new initiative by Singapore and the United States, actually there will be new military objectives in Southeast Asia. In fact, Singapore's plan to host the bases was confirmed by well-known U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz in Bali last August, who described Singapore's initiative as a special opportunity to build new bases in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. policy in this region is obviously based on an old principle; namely that security is based on military power and the existence of military bases. Such a principle constituted the main topic of talks by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle in his recent tour of Southeast Asia.

However, a completely different view has also begun to circulate in Southeast Asian countries. The Indonesian daily MERDEKA wrote that foreign forces had always been responsible for the outbreak of war. Security can be assured only by ending the arms race, reducing defense budgets, and increasing expenditures for socioeconomic development. This view is certainly most compatible with the concept of a Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality in Southeast Asia as advocated by ASEAN countries.

Lukyanov Meets With Singapore Parlimentarians

PM2010104789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] On 19 October A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received a Singapore parliamentary delegation headed by Speaker Tang Soo Khoon which is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union.

In the course of a friendly conversation A.I. Lukyanov told the guests about the USSR Supreme Soviet's activity aimed at resolving the constructive tasks of perestroyka and strengthening the legal foundations of the Soviet state. He pointed out the indissoluble link between these tasks and the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in the spirit of the new thinking, which represent a reliable point of reference for all states and peoples for peace and security, and the positive development of international relations. He stressed the significance of reducing the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region in the interests of ensuring a fundamental change for the better there.

The Singapore parliamentarians displayed keen interest in questions relating to the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet federation; they expressed support for the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy initiatives and advocated the establishment of equitable cooperation in the Pacific.

They pointed out the particular significance of the Singapore parliamentarians' first visit to the USSR for the development of ties between both countries' supreme representative bodies of power. Thus, Soo Khoon gave the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership an invitation to pay an official visit to Singapore, which was accepted with thanks. The sides also advocated continuing the contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the ASEAN-AIPO [ASEAN Interparliamentary Organization], which were initiated during this organization's recent session in Manila.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and Chiang Hai Ding, Singapore ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Cambodian Party Delegation Visits 12-18 Oct

PM1910143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia [Narodno-Revolyutsionnaya Partiya Kambodzhi] [PRPC], a delegation of the PRPC Central Committee Organizational Department visited the Soviet Union 12 through 18 October to exchange party work experience.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Views Bhutto Statement on Arms

LD2110115489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1047 GMT 21 Oct 89

["Declaration by a USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Representative"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct (TASS)—According to a report by the REUTER agency on 20 October, Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan has made a declaration that the Soviet Union should withdraw some of its weapons from Afghanistan, which would aid a political settlement in that country. At the same time, she asserted that the Soviet Union had handed over a large quantity of weapons to Kabul, which greatly exceeded the arms stocks of the Mujahidin.

In connection with this declaration by the Pakistani prime minister, the TASS diplomatic correspondent was told the following at the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs: As is well-known, the armed conflict in Afghanistan is continuing solely through the fault of the extremist opposition forces and their patrons, who are producing plans to overthrow the legitimate government of the republic and have been persistently waging active offensive combat operations to this end for 8 months now. The peace initiatives put forward by that government were rejected by its opponents right at the start. For these entire 8 months, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have been confining themselves to defensive operations, whereas the opposition has been constantly subjecting various regions and towns in the country to attacks and bombardment. It is clear that the opposition would not be able to do this if it were not constantly obtaining strong injections in the form of increasing supplies of arms, and more and more refined weapons at that. However, the road to the attainment of accords does not lie through an intensification of fire, but through a cease-fire. Otherwise, it comes about that the Pakistani authorities are calling for a political settlement and the withdrawal of weapons from Afghanistan on the one hand, while on the other, they are encouraging the opposition to step up its combat activity.

But if we are to talk about the achievement of a real political settlement, then this can be helped in practice by the constructive plan put forward recently by President Najibullah, one of the main elements in which is a cease-fire and the initiation of a broad inter-Afghan dialogue.

It also contains a proposal to work out at an international conference an agreement on halting the deliveries of all types of weapons. It is precisely in the context of this plan, which is based on existing realities, that it is possible to end the war and subsequently the sending of weapons to Afghanistan by both sides, and to finally achieve the desired peace for the Afghan people.

Afghan Official Discusses Attacks on UN Convoys

LD2110210789 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul October 21 TASS—By attacking U.N. motor convoys with goods intended for Afghan areas, the population of which suffer from a shortage of food and prime necessities, the rebels defy the United Nations, Mohammed Nabi Amani, director of the Afghan Foreign Ministry's press centre, told TASS.

Last year a Panjsher-bound 18-truck convoy under the flag and emblem of the United Nations carrying medicines, fertilizers, and flour was stopped and plundered by an 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' group in Laghmani, Parwan Province, he recalled.

Two U.N. employees accompanying the goods were captured and kept under guard for some time.

Rebels are now again threatening to prevent trucks with U.N. cargoes from reaching Kabul, Amani said. The cargoes recently arrived in Khayratan from Finland.

All actions of the rebels are coordinated by the Pakistani Secret Service. Islamabad cannot but know about actions being planned by them.

The attitude of one of U.N. groups—which assigned a sum of money to Ahmad Shah Mas'ud ostensibly for aid to Panjsher residents at a time when this field commander is threatening the safety of the U.N.-flagged convoy—cannot but give rise to surprise.

The United Nations Organisation has always given and continues to render help of humanitarian and purely non-military character.

The above-mentioned U.N. group assigns financial aid to people who are fighting the government. So, it means that this aid will be used for military purposes. This does not promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict, Amani said.

Performance of New Iranian Cabinet Evaluated

NC2210140889 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Excerpts] Esteemed listeners: Exactly 2 months ago, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani announced the formation of a new cabinet. [passage omitted].

In recent years, it had become a tradition for clerical figures to play an extensive and important role in all areas of the Iranian Government's life. However, the situation has radically changed. A large proportion of the present ministers are not representatives of the clergy but specialists in various fields. It is therefore no coincidence that the new cabinet was immediately termed a cabinet of technocrats. What has been the initial outcome of the work of this cabinet?

As was also expected, issues relating to the country's social and economic growth are the focus of the present government. The first cabinet session was devoted to the question of extensive economic restructuring. The government initiated an active quest for a way out of the crisis. In its view, it was seeking to create the conditions necessary for the amelioration of the lot of the masses. Therefore, the new cabinet allotted top priority to resolving the problem of unemployment which has afflicted 5 million people.

The annual inflation rate of more than 50 percent and the spiraling of prices are other problems confronting the new government. Most of the programs now being implemented indicate that the government is trying to grapple with these problems and to resort to the methods of bazaar economics [raveshha-ye eqtesad-e bazaari]. Therefore, the new leadership has decided to transfer a considerable section of the government production agencies to the private sector. According to government experts, this measure will increase the profits accruing from various factories and industrial units and and immensely improve the economic situation. [passage omitted]

The government also took a financial step in this regard. For example, private sector representatives have been allowed to conduct independent foreign exchange transactions. It is possible that this measure will result in the reduction of inflation and lowering of prices. In brief, the priorities of the present cabinet are quite clear in the economic field. It is not yet clear whether these measures will be sufficiently effective or not.

In the field of foreign policy, the new cabinet is pursuing the former policy of neither East nor West. However, certain definite changes can be seen in this regard. For example, in recent months, Tehran's activities in the field of foreign policy seem to have become more (?healthy) and restrained. It generates the impression that there has been a revision of Iran's foreign policy, which seems to have become more open and dynamic. According to remarks by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of Iran, today the Islamic Republic favors the establishment of friendly ties with all countries except for two or three. It is possible to define the Iranian Government's new foreign policy in these words: The pledge of allegiance to the line of Imam Khomeyni with the expert implementation of specific changes.

Iran's Bill on Majlis Qualifications Viewed

NC1910161689 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Iranian Majlis has specified the qualifications necessary for its deputies. Now only those who have completed their higher education in institutions of higher learning or who have theological qualifications accepted by the Qom theological seminary will be elected Majlis deputies.

The Majlis bill has generated several controversies in the Iranian mass media. Some endorse it on the grounds that higher qualifications are a necessary prerequisite for a Majlis deputy. But others perceive in this bill an inclination on the part of the Qom theological seminary instructors—who have attained the status of government leaders—to carry out a political purge in the Majlis of certain deputies who have a democratic spirit. These instructors could thus confirm their own (?dubious) selection.

In any case, of the 267 Majlis deputies, 20 clerics and 55 nonclerics do not conform to the criteria announced by the Majlis. It is possible that in such arbitration, some truths are hidden. It appears that the issue has deeper roots. The Majlis has become the scapegoat of the same lack of qualifications from which numerous other economic, governmental, scientific, and cultural organizations suffer.

The reason for this state of affairs is that religious extremists monopolized the leadership in the aftermath of the antimonarchical revolution. KEYHAN newspaper has initiated a series of articles dealing with the dreadful consequences of such a trend for the social, economic, and cultural growth and progress of Iran. It is gleaned from these articles that following the revolution, those who took the reins of government in their hands and shook the entire earth with their ear-shattering call for jihad were bereft of any knowledge of science and culture. They embarked on the Islamization of the universities and scientific and cultural institutes.

These people drove prominent researchers and specialists from these institutes on chimerical and fabricated pretexts. Many were imprisoned, while others saved themselves by fleeing abroad. Those experts whom the religious extremists considered to be on their side were assigned to posts which had no connection with their field of specialization. For example, one of Iran's researchers, Dr Mahmud Taleqani, interviewed an Interior Ministry official. In the interview, which was published in the press, the official complained to Taleqani that the Interior Ministry has 30 people with scientific qualifications, but no one knows why they are working there. On the basis of support for or his views on Islam, a physics teacher is forced to teach Persian literature, while a semiliterate cleric is directed to teach mathematics.

All this has done great harm to Iran's economy, science, and culture. At present, government envoys are forced to hunt for Iranian experts and scholars in the United States and West European countries. The fact is that the hardships and misfortune stemming from imposing prejudiced people on learned ones are not confined to Iran. Similar examples can be found in the Soviet Union. As you know, the Great October Revolution brought a government to power in the USSR which was considered the most cultured one in the world regarding the level of its education and the qualifications of its members. However, the Stalinist years of egotism and injustice characterized by implementating a dangerous policy of treating scholars, cultural figures, and scientists with contempt resulted in irrevocable harm to this country.

The Soviet people are still suffering the negative consequences of that era. Similarly, [words indistinct] for such people, the problems of Iran—since the prosecution of cultural and literary figures took place when so many of the country's citizens, especially in the countryside, were illiterate or semi-literate, and since the country suffers from a chronic paucity of specialists, experts, and men of learning—are clearly (?understandable).

Perhaps the bill on Majlis deputies' qualifications is eloquent testimony to one of these problems.

Iranian Amnesty Fails to Show 'Political Justice'

NC1910144889 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] For many years now, the leaders of the Islamic Republic have begun their speeches with the phrase in the name of God, the almighty, the compassionate.

Compassion is a great thing, and more and more is being said about this in Iran today. The amnesty declared on the occasion of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad is undoubtedly a manifestation of compassion.

In accordance with the decision of 'Ali Khamene'i, the country's religious leader, a large number of prisoners is to be released. Although the exact number is not known, the Iranian press reports that it will be in the thousands. Moreover, there is to be a significant reduction of prison terms as well. For example, reports indicate that those sentenced to life imprisonment will only have to serve 15 years in prison and that the sentences of most prisoners is to be reduced by one-third.

Amnesty is nothing new in the political life of the Islamic Republic. In February 2,600 were pardoned and released from prison to mark the 10th anniversary of the Iranian revolution. However, the just announced amnesty has special characteristics.

The first point to note about the amnesty is its limited scope, since it will not apply to a large group of prisoners. First of all, drug traffickers will remain in prison. It should be recalled that the extraordinary law on drug enforcement envisages execution or 20-year prison terms for anyone caught with 30 grams of heroin, morphine, or codeine. It seems that the government does not intend to end the nationwide campaign against the drug traffickers, and this was reflected in the decision on amnesty. Second, under the terms of Khamene'i's decree, people involved in corruption and bribery are not to be pardoned. Last month 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani appointed a special committee to combat corruption and bribery and ordered the interior minister to devote serious attention to the struggle against this crime. It appears that the current Iranian leadership has no intention of accepting this social ill.

The third group of prisoners who will not be pardoned are members of banned political groups. In other words, the amnesty applies to criminals and lacks a political nature. Of course, among those who have been arrested for political crimes are the true enemies of the revolution, especially promonarchists. However, members of leftist organizations, of whose services to the Iranian nation there can be no doubt, have also been imprisoned, and their arrest and imprisonment do not serve Iran's national interests.

Amnesty is not (?only) a gesture of compassion. This step should be welcomed. It is only regrettable that this step did not achieve political justice.

Mubarak, Al-Qadhdhafi Exchange of Visits Noted

PM2010105589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Velikiy dispatch: "Egypt-Libya: For the First Time in 16 Years"]

[Text] Cairo—M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, and Egypt's President H. Mubarak exchanged visits over 48 hours. These summit meetings advanced the process of normalizing relations between the two countries, which were severed after Egypt's signing of the Camp David agreements. M. al-Qadhdhafi was visiting Egypt for the first time in 16 years. H. Mubarak was visiting Libya for the first time in 16 years. This is the first time in this period that they had exchanged opinions on such a broad range of questions.

It is reported that during the visit they discussed problems of Near Eastern security, ways of solving the Palestinian problem, and the prospects for bilateral relations.

With regard to the latter, it must be said that they have gotten moving recently. In particular, direct Libyan-Egyptian airline flights have been resumed. At the current meeting the main sensation was an accord on exchanging official missions. Admittedly, observers disagree as to whether this decision signifies the resumption of full diplomatic relations... Moreover, the sides agreed on a system whereby Libyans and Egyptians do not need visas to cross the border between the two states. They also outlined 10 areas for bilateral cooperation.

The Palestinian question stood out among the international questions featuring at the talks, since it is becoming increasingly acute these days. As is well known, in the last few months Y. Shamir, H. Mubarak, and J. Baker have proposed three settlement plans in succession.

In a statement to journalists after his meeting with M. Qadhdhafi the Egyptian president stressed, inter alia, that only the Palestinians themselves are empowered to form their delegation at talks with Israel. H. Mubarak also confirmed Egypt's determination to promote such talks.

Iraqi Ambassador Received at Foreign Ministry

PM2310100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Reception of Ambassadors"]

[Text] Yu.M. Voronstov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Ghafil Jasim Husayn, Iraqi ambassador to the USSR, on 20 October.

They held an exchange of opinions on topical questions of Soviet-Iraqi relations and on the current situation regarding the Iran-Iraq settlement.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Recent South African Events Assessed

MB1310173989 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Igor Patovskiy commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] As you have heard, South African President F.W. de Klerk and three church leaders, Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak, and Frank Chikane, held talks for over 3 hours on Wednesday [12 Oct]. They were de Klerk's first talks with black representatives since he took office. The talks were detailed, and established a basis for continuing efforts toward negotiation in the present South Africa. The talks were calm and frank.

In the past, the government would have used such talks merely as an exercise to gather information from black leaders on what needs to be done with the nation. Today, many analysts see the talks as a pointer to the changing situation in South Africa and to the president's open door policy. It has been 2 months since De Klerk made his promises of reform, and the church leaders wished to give him a chance to outline his strategy for change in the country.

President de Klerk's talks with the church leaders came in the wake of the president's announcement of the planned release of eight political prisoners, an important event. We wish to join those who choose to see this as a first and positive step toward a negotiated settlement in this country.

This occurs while Britain's Conservative Party is meeting to formulate a strategy for the Commonwealth summit, where without doubt the question of sanctions against South Africa will feature strongly. Was it a coincidence, or intended, that de klerk should have something positive to declare to Margaret Thatcher at this opportune time? Then again, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha has relayed the news to the Washington, knowing that the sanctions issue will be on the agenda of the U.S. Congress.

The announced release of the eight political prisoners has received favorable international reaction. This is expected, as this is a humane gesture toward people who have been incarcerated for many years, as even De Klerk himself has noted. However, he said the question of Mandela's release has not been addressed. Mandela is the one person on whom successful negotiations are hinged, which in a way means the situation on the whole is still the same. The partial release was meant to bait the left, and at the same time let the right down lightly. What does all this change? The reply that Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak, and Frank Chikane wanted at the talks with de Klerk was not forthcoming.

Commentary Discusses De Klerk Approach to ANC

MB2110101089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The sensational news of releasing eight prominent political prisoners is followed now in South Africa by speculations on the aim of that action. Was it done out of compassion for the innocent people who had been kept for more than 25 years in jail, or is it an attempt to reap political dividends? Let's hope that's the plan of justice.

What talk is possible about changes for the better in the country with that glaring injustice around? But then the people in South Africa and outside, continues Aleksandr Fedorov, think that the authorities released those prisoners in pursuit of political gains, far removed from mercy of elementary human rights.

The prisoners were released 3 days before the opening in Malaysia of the regular Commonwealth summit meeting. If that's a coincidence, it's surely an amazing one, particularly since the Malaysian prime minister had been calling for stepping up sanctions against South Africa, which was reflected in a report by a group of Commonwealth foreign ministers.

It's no chance that after the release of eight prisoners, the South African ambassador in London, Killen, and the minister, Viljoen, expressed their readiness to open talks with the African National Congress [ANC].

The presenter of the ABC television company pointed out that the South African president, Frederik de Klerk, had recognized the ANC as a political force that can no longer be ignored. But whatever motives or ramifications were behind the release of eight prisoners, this is the first and hardest step, not too little for a country where, about a year ago, the ANC was still unmentionable.

We can also understand the position of Frederik de Klerk's cabinet, with the right-wing Conservative Party accusing it of betrayal and violation of the Constitution and demanding an end to a dialogue with the African National Congress.

The latest events in South Africa can also be seen as a concession to the world public opinion, as fear of sanctions, and recognition of the ANC's authority. One thing is clear: The situation in South Africa can never be resolved by military force in the present conditions. Long years of attempts to perpetuate apartheid have told on all sides of life of both black and white populations.

I am not saying that the Pretoria regime could not hold out for some more years under sanctions and internal strife, with its strong Army and police maintained at astronomical cost, continues Aleksandr Fedorov. But in that case, an army of fighters against apartheid including white people would grow, too. They would probably refrain from supporting the ANC, but they won't look on passively as the country of their birth lost all chances of a peaceful future.

I think that inevitable change is accepted both by the Conservatives and the African resistance movement. As the Conservatives call on their supporters to go the whole hog, they are vying with the ruling NP [National Party] for influence on the white citizens.

But the right-wing rank and file wish to give up ambitions and head-on confrontation with the NP and with the ANC. It's hard to predict the results of the planned contest with the ANC. Some experience of dialogue with the participation of the Broederbond [Afrikaner Brotherhood] prominent leaders is a hopeful factor.

Another hopeful sign was a recent meeting of Frederik de Klerk with the black African religious leaders, who convinced him that the indigenous population was determined to obtain their political and economic rights.

The current need of the white population is also well known to the president. That was clear when he based his election program on their hopes for change in the country.

Ugandan Parliament Decision on NRM Rule Favored

EA1310092289 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 11 Oct 89

[From "Africa As We See It" program]

[Text] The Ugandan Parliament has decided to extended the National Resistance Movement's [NRM's] rule for the next 5 years. Our commentator Vladimir Borisov has filed the following commentary:

The Ugandan parliament's decision indicates that the party leader, Yoweri Museveni, will stay on as president for the next 5 years. The NRM came to power in January 1986 after gaining a military victory. Since it came to power 3 years ago, it has curbed the civil war which claimed the lives of 1 million Ugandans and created political chaos in the country for the past 20 years. The new regime has also done a lot to restore democratic rule and bring about economic recovery in the country.

In a country which has suffered for many years, the establishment of a proper parliament is clear evidence of democratic growth. The decision was made with the consent of various political parties and opposition factions. This decision to extend the president's term of office will not be repeated, it was promised.

The heated debate on the issue lasted some days. Opponents of the decision said it would cause another civil war. Such fears may have some validity because the decision will give a propaganda opportunity to the internal opposition factions and the external enemies of President Museveni. The opposition factions have recently accused President Museveni of holding onto power unlawfully and violating human rights.

Nevertheless, the reasons given for the decision are more convincing. The current state of affairs in Uganda, the encouraging and constructive changes made by the NRM and the search for a peaceful resolution of internal strife by the government indicate that the present regime is trying its best to bring the country out of the turmoil into which it was plunged. The parliament's decision is also accepted by the masses of the country. This is one of the victories gained by the NRM. It will bring the patriotic forces still closer together.

Conflicts in Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan Viewed

EA1710181889 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Aleksandr Mikhaylov commentary; from the "World Events Today" feature]

[Text] Really, I do not remember when the words: hot spot of the world were coined. However, I have no doubt that whenever it was, the Horn of Africa was one of the areas so described. This region was one of the areas of Africa where World War II was fought. Armed guerrillas struggling for liberation fought for their independence there. Subsequently, when war broke out between the two independent Governments of Somalia and Ethiopia, we were both worried and surprised.

Fighting is still going on in this region. The wars taking place there now are really internal conflicts. The Governments of Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan are fighting armed opposition groups. Nevertheless, a person who dies in this fighting does not think about the scale of the war in which he was sacrificed. It is always with woe and sorrow that a mother mourns for the sons she has lost. Can it be said that these disasters will end in the not-too-distant future? I would like to be able to say yes.

At the beginning of this year, there appeared to be hope in Somalia that there would be a solution to this conflict. Statements issued by the country's leadership on their wish to hold talks with the guerrillas in the north were further enhanced by an extensive amnesty for political prisoners. But the riots in Mogadishu in July and the government's suppression of the Isaaq opposition reignited the civil war that had been cooling. New fronts have now opened up in the central and even southern regions. Even the weighty promises about democratization of the country made by President Mohamed Siad Barre have not stopped the guerrillas.

In Sudan, after a short period of calm and stability, it looks as though the situation in that country is heating up again. When the new regime rejected the dialogue initiated with much difficulty by the deposed former government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, the situation truly returned to its former state. The government is now preoccupied with ways to buy a lot of weapons, and the guerrillas are reaching consensus on ways of defending themselves against government troops. The government wants to sign military agreements with a few Arab governments. John Garang, the leader of the guerrillas, has toured six African countries. For this reason, it cannot be said that the war will remain a purely domestic conflict.

But it is possible to outgrow this stage. There is no doubt that a solution to any one of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa would greatly affect the others, because it would set an example. For this reason, observers were very hopeful about the talks between the government of Ethiopia and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the largest front fighting in Eritrea. As you know, the two sides agreed on the most important aspects of their next talks, which will take place in Nairobi on 18 November. Compared with 6 months ago the situation in Eritrea is stable now.

However, it is only the Eritrea region that is stable. The war in Tigray and Welo, neighboring Eritrea, has now intensified. Each side is blaming the other side for this situation. In general, the situation prevailing in Ethiopia today is far from normal. In addition to the political and military problems of the Horn of Africa, there is now the problem of starvation. In Sudan and Ethiopia, 3 to 6 million people are threatened with starvation. No doubt the shortage of food facing the region will not spare Somalia. Representatives of international organizations are thinking urgently about ways of helping the people of this region. I am confident that socialist, capitalist, and developing countries will participate in the aid. Everyone will participate according to his ability. I am also sure that the aid will help ease the general confrontation in these countries.

Therefore, I think it is time for all the conflicting groups to discuss this matter. I think it is also necessary for all governments and the international community to pool their resources and think about ways of ending the conflicts and wars in the Horn of Africa. The worries of the people living in this region of the world surpass their hopes. If they lose hope completely, they will not gain anything.

As Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, said at the 44th UN General Assembly, mankind will not escape disasters and calamities if every nation wastes its energy on misunderstandings with other nations. I think the realization of this fact by those directly or indirectly involved in these conflicts and other neutral parties and spectators is the greatest hope for settling these problems.

CPSU Delegation Concludes Visit to Ethiopia

*PM2310092789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Oct 89 First Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Fruitful Visit"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 20 Oct—The CPSU delegation headed by G.M. Khodyrev, first secretary of Gorkiy CPSU Oblast Committee, which had been here at the invitation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE], has left Addis Ababa for home.

The CPSU representatives had meetings and talks at a number of WPE Central Committee departments, during which information was exchanged on the two parties' activities and questions of the further expansion of bilateral cooperation were discussed. The delegation also visited the "Yyekatit-66" [name as published] political education institute and an Ethiopian trade union. During the tour of the country the delegation visited southern Shewa and Sidamo Provinces and familiarized itself with a number of industrial and agricultural installations, including a caustic soda plant being built with Soviet technical assistance.

The WPE representatives briefed the delegation members on the complex situation in northern Ethiopia and talked about the steps being taken by the government to implement the peace initiative put forward by the Ethiopian National Assembly.

The CPSU delegation, for its part, expressed support for the friendly Ethiopian people's desire to establish peace and stability in the country and to create favorable conditions for socioeconomic progress.

East Europe

Gorbachev Invites GDR's Krenz To Visit USSR

*LD2110193189 Moscow World Service in English
1700 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[Text] The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, has invited the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Egon Krenz, to visit the Soviet Union at an early date. The ADN news agency says the invitation was made during a telephone conversation between them today. Mikhail Gorbachev said fostering socialism and preserving peace were the main tasks. In that connection he pointed to the great importance of more intensive exchanges of ideas and experience between the Soviet Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

Egon Krenz thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for the invitation. He said he hoped that the visit would give the opportunity to have firsthand experience of reforms in the Soviet Union and discuss broader cooperation in all fields. He said the experience gained by the Soviet Communists in the course of perestroyka was vital to his country.

Krenz-Led Party To Play 'Different Role' in GDR

*PM2010154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own Correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "GDR: Openly and Constructively"]

[Text] Berlin—Leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] have met with working people's collectives and explained the decisions of the SED Central Committee 18 October Plenum. There was a frank discussion of the most urgent problems, both social and political.

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Guenther Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin party Bezirk committee, visited the capital's "7 Oktober" machine building combine. The discussion with workers took place right in the combine's shops. They discussed such problems as production efficiency, labor remuneration, the further development of socialist democracy, opportunities for foreign travel, and the migration of thousands of GDR citizens to the FRG. They talked about the role of trade unions, information policy, and mutual relations among the alliance parties in the GDR.

Egon Krenz and Guenther Schabowski answered many questions from the workers. Speaking about problems of travel to the West, E. Krenz said that the matter here is not solely one of the good or ill will of the party leadership. One of the most serious obstacles remains the fact that the West regards GDR citizens as second-class people—because of the FRG's claim to be a "homeland for all Germans." This is a slight to the feelings of citizens of the GDR, which is and will remain a sovereign country.

It was said that, in line with the Central Committee plenum decision, the government will elaborate a draft law relating to freer foreign travel. This draft will be presented for discussion by all citizens and will then be passed on to the Volkskammer for examination.

Berlin's newspapers are reporting on the meeting between Egon Krenz and Bishop Werner Leich, deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates.

At the meeting it was stressed that in the present situation, which is extremely important for the republic's future, everything should be done to ensure that dialogue is not accompanied by ill-considered actions whose consequences would be hard to predict, because such actions can hinder dialogue or wreck it completely. Information policy was discussed as well: The mass media must work in a spirit of openness and realism, be closer to life, strengthen citizens' confidence in state policy, and support and develop creative initiatives.

Gerald Goetting, chairman of the GDR Christian Democratic Union, appeared on the television program "Current Affairs." We Christian Democrats, he said, advocate that all the changes now planned in our country be given a human dimension. The stance and actions of Christians must enrich the process of change. There is much work to be done, but it would be an illusion to expect quick results.

GDR television held a face-to-face debate between TV viewers and prominent social and political figures, including Professor Otto Reinhold, Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer of Dresden, and others. The time has come, the discussion participants said, to regard dissidents in a new light. The party leadership's "long silence" is over. It has become clear that the Central Committee will play a different role in future than in the past.

West German television programs, which can be received across virtually the whole territory of the GDR, are devoting a lot of time to events in the republic. Their commentaries are marked by tendentiousness and are slanted in such a way as to undermine confidence in the new SED leadership. Yesterday ARD ran a discussion on the theme of German reunification and invited rightwing politicians and GDR emigres to participate. This has been received here as a blatant provocation.

Krenz Committment to Dialogue Welcomed

PM2310091389 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Oct 89 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Nikitin dispatch: "GDR: Fresh Wind of Renewal"]

[Text] Berlin, 21 Oct—A Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Plenum was held last Wednesday. It relieved E. Honecker of his duties as general secretary at his own request. G. Mittag and J. Herrmann, respectively responsible for the economy and the mass media, were relieved of their duties as Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries. It should be pointed out that the majority of the population and of communists—and I can judge this from numerous conversations—expected and support the decisions adopted. Problems have been accumulating in the republic in the economic, public, and social spheres, while for long years only successes in building socialism were hoisted aloft "in the GDR's colors."

The GDR has undoubtedly achieved considerable successes in the economy and in the social sphere in 40 years, and its population has one of the highest living standards among the socialist countries. But problems have also grown with the years. The pace of development is slackening in a national economy burdened by rigid centralization. Leveling has flourished under cover of social justice. I recently visited a strong agricultural cooperative in the village of Golzow, which makes millions in profits, and inquired about the peasants' wages. It turned out that, with bonuses, they make the equivalent of approximately R4,000 a year. And how much in the neighboring, unprofitable cooperative? The same, came the sad reply.

The last wave of illegal departures of tens of thousands of GDR citizens for the FRG by way of Hungary's open border with Austria and the West German Embassies in Prague and Warsaw has done the republic great moral and material harm. It is mainly young people under the age of 30 who have left: skilled workers, representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, and medical personnel. And they have not fled out of poverty. I am sure that almost all of them have left behind a well-appointed apartment (in the republic there are 422 apartments for every 1,000 inhabitants), and many have abandoned private cars for which they waited 10-15 years. And the store counters are far from empty either. Every day I see Soviet tourists and people on official trips flabbergasted at the abundance, compared with our country, of meat products (per capita consumption of these has topped 100 kg), local and imported footwear, knitwear, and children's clothes. And yet...

Many complaints have been addressed to the mass media, which seemed to have cut themselves off from the realities of life behind a blind wall and to be trumpeting yet more successes and overfulfilled plans. (Incidentally, our own reports from the country were in the same tone). This did not happen because local journalists do not know life or are unable to wield a skillful pen. No. Our GDR colleagues were made, as we once were, by instructions from above, to write not about what actually existed but what they were expected to see. On given days, for example, it was possible to count dozens of photographs featuring the former general secretary in the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

Nor were the mass media noted, to put it mildly, for objective coverage of the processes occurring in the Soviet Union. There is tremendous interest here in our perestroyka, but frequently the only reports, apart from the semiofficial organ, were of earthquakes and disasters, interethnic clashes, tea and sugar coupons... The impression was created that someone did not want to publish the truth about the reforms in the economy, the democratization of public and political life, the formation of a real people's parliament, and the other profound transformations in our country with all its problems, pains, and hopes.

A year ago the matter reached the point where distribution of the APN [NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY] magazine SPUTNIK, which is popular with all sections of the population, was banned. That step provoked massive discontent at the time, even among communists—for which some of them paid with their party cards. But now the latest newspapers have just arrived with the report that SPUTNIK will soon once again be reaching subscribers and newspaper kiosks.

As already reported, Egon Krenz has been elected the new SED Central Committee general secretary. During his very first day in his new post he spent many hours with the collective of a Berlin machine tool building combine. For the first time for many years this was a frank, principled, and at times hard-hitting discussion of everything painful that troubles working people today. Of interruptions in supplies, the inefficient economy and the forgotten principle of pay according to labor, of the leadership's disrupted ties with the people and the need for a dialogue with all social forces, of the enhancement of the trade unions' role and real trade union democracy, of the possibilities of trips abroad and trust in people.

In Leipzig, Dresden, and other cities where there have been mass demonstrations and rallies in recent days party and state workers have met with representatives of the public. The Interior Ministry has been entrusted with preparing drafts of new legislation governing citizens' travel abroad. The new rubric "Questions Without Answers" has appeared in the trade union newspaper TRIBUENE.

In short, social life, which previously had been driven into a framework of lobby discussions and tete-a-tetes, has come out into the open and is being reflected in newspapers and on television. Yesterday, for example, Berlin construction workers asked the capital's party leader—G. Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo—whether the readiness for dialogue declared by E. Krenz will be a temporary phenomenon. No, he said. Dialogue is not a seasonal phenomenon but a necessary condition on the path to the future.

Berlin Aktiv Meeting, Other Developments Noted

PM2010101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "Course of Renewal"]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Oct—All the GDR's newspapers today devote main attention to a report on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee plenum and the speech delivered there by Egon Krenz, newly elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee. They also publish M.S. Gorbachev's telegram of congratulations to E. Krenz.

The plenum's decisions are meeting with approval from the country's communists. Yesterday in Berlin there was a city party aktiv meeting to which leaders of the bezirk organizations of parties in the democratic bloc were also invited. G. Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk Committee, addressed the 5,000 participants.

The party aktiv meeting noted that the plenum's decisions mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in social development in the GDR. Berlin's communists intend to make every effort to ensure successful dialogue with all citizens. They see this as their main contribution to the preparations for the 12th SED Congress. The Berlin party organization will cohesively and firmly follow the path outlined by the SED Central Committee. The capital's communists closely link the nationwide discussion and the debate within the party to the struggle for the fulfillment of tasks in all spheres of social life and to the struggle to fulfill the projected plans. The party aktiv stresses that at this particular time efforts and energy must not be wasted on interminable disputes. Together with everyone else, including those people who are critically inclined but who value the GDR's prosperity, communists will act in the interests of renewing socialism and of the country's progressive development.

After the SED Central Committee plenum there was a session of the central democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations chaired by E. Krenz. The leading representatives of the Democratic Peasants' Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, the Free German Trade Union Federation, the Free German Youth, the Democratic Women's League, the Cultural League, the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, as well as the GDR National Front National Council took part in it. E.

Krenz informed the participants about the results of the SED Central Committee plenum.

The representatives of the central democratic bloc expressed the opinion that the urgent task now is to ensure the further strengthening of the socialist motherland while conducting a broad dialogue with all the country's citizens.

Today E. Krenz visited the 7 October machine building combine in Berlin. For several hours he talked with workers about all the questions troubling them and in particular about the development of socialist democracy, foreign holidays, and supply.

TASS Observer on SED Leadership Changes, Plenum

LD2010115289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0933 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—TASS Political Observer Aleksandr Kondrashov writes:

The change in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership, the far-fetched reasons for the retirement of 77-year old Erich Honecker, and unconvincing prognoses of the future steps—the attention of the Western mass media is now concentrated around these themes. Of course, the personnel changes in the SED leadership are an important event for the ruling party and the country as a whole. But all the same, the main thing in life today in the GDR is in my view the determination at the ninth plenum of the SED Central Committee concerning new approaches for the party toward the pressing political, social and economic problems and their extremely frank and self-critical analysis.

The SED leadership has thus responded keenly to the endeavor of a broad strata of the GDR public toward a renewal of socialism, toward a search for new forms of social life and innovations in the economy, and to the joint discussion and resolution of acute socio- economic problems.

Reading Egon Krenz's report at the SED Central Committee Plenum addressed not only to its participants but also to all citizens of the GDR, it can be noted that practically all of the issues which are worrying the public at the present time were touched upon in it. These are both a confirmation of the leadership's readiness for broad-based discussion and dialogue with various strata of the population and the necessity for economic reforms and issues of travel abroad for GDR citizens and, finally, new opportunities in the work of the mass media.

Of course, many of today's problems in the republic's life have been accumulating for years and decades. It is not possible to resolve them in a matter of days. It is important that they are raised and called by their proper names. It may certainly be assumed that in the immediate future, in the course of the preparations for the 12th SED congress, that optimal ways of resolving them will be found. For even today this search is becoming the affair of all communists and the broad masses of the population.

In putting forward their own course for renewal and succession, our German friends do, in my view, have an important advantage: the opportunity to interpret the experience gained in perestroyka and reforms in a number of socialist countries with all the pluses and minuses, with the achievements and the shortcomings inherent in this extremely complicated process. It is no accident that it was stressed in the report made by the SED General Secretary that the arguments and discussions, the reforms and laws should serve the cause of socialism in the GDR and not cast doubt on its ideals and achievements.

One cannot but agree with this conclusion. This is because at its base there is not only the fact that the experience of other socialist countries has been take into account, but also a special responsibility for the destiny of the GDR, where socialism is most closely connected with the republic's sovereignty, independence, and security.

Apparently in connection with this conclusion the results of the SED Central Committee Plenum gave rise to a skeptical reaction in the West, above all within the conservative circles in the FRG. Let us recall just how many insistent calls have recently been made from Bonn, addressed to the GDR's leadership, to commence reforms and enter into a dialogue with the public. But, having commenced this without, it is true, prompting from outside and on the basis of its own choice, the leadership of the republic has so far not been given objective appraisals. In spite of the course toward reforms and renewal, clearly expressed at the plenum, numerous politicians and press media in the FRG cast doubt upon this course. Moreover, they are making outright demands for further cadre and political changes.

The results of the SED Central Committee's Ninth Plenum are seen in the Soviet Union as proof of the maturity of the fraternal party, its ability sensitively to react to the demands of the times and to make corrections to its policy. The Soviet people are pleased with the resolve, voiced at the plenum, to strengthen the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the CPSU. In their turn, the Soviet Communists highly value the fraternal ties with the SED, all the people in our country know how important the interaciton between the USSR and the GDR is for the stabiilty of the situation in Europe, for the cause of socialism and peace.

Moscow TV Comments on Political Situation in GDR

LD2110211389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] This past week important things have been happening in the public and political life of the GDR. Our correspondent reports from Berlin:

[V. Mostovoy] There have been changes in the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. As you know, Comrade Egon Krenz has been elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee. His keynote speech on GDR television and the SED Central Committee Politburo statement published in recent days raise important issues which deal with the life of the country and on which its future depends. What is the essence of what has happened?

On the one hand, the GDR people have every right to take pride in what they have achieved in past years. The country is numbered among the top 10 most developed countries of the world, and has scored substantial successes both in the economy and in the social sphere. But of late life has posed difficult new problems which—albeit not without the participation of so-called well-wishers in the West—have often come out in a distorted form. They have generated a negative public response and a reaction from the populace that is not always justified. This applies, above all to the emigration of several tens of thousands of GDR citizens to the Federal Republic of Germany via Hungary and Austria. However, it would not be objective to palm everything off on the actions of certain circles in the West. As historical experience shows, the main thing at such times is to analyze the situation within the country, to investigate the reasons that prompt some people to such actions, and to find ways of removing the failings.

The party leadership believes that the problems relating to the future development of socialism in the county must be tackled by the people through a businesslike dialogue and through political interaction on the part of all public forces. The proposals put forward by the Communist Party are being discussed both in work collectives and in the family circle. The discussion and the exchange of opinions are being covered widely by the mass media. At issue is the effectiveness of the economic policy, genuine democracy, mutual trust between various sections of society, the selection of goods and the corresponding pay, the objectiveness of the press, the opportunity to travel abroad, and acute ecological issues. [passage omitted]

In the immediate future the party and the people will have to draw up proposals on ways of developing the country—proposals which should provide an answer to the question of what sort of socialism there is to be on German soil. [video shows GDR television film of Krenz; street scenes on the Alexanderplatz and elsewhere]

Youth Newspaper Offers View of GDR Situation

PM2010102389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 3

[Report by "our own correspondent" S. Maslov: "Light and Shade"]

[Text] If you believe FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who recently spoke of his country as "the sunny side of Germany," then your correspondent, like millions of GDR citizens, is living in the dark.

In general, where there is no sun there is no shade. But on the day of the GDR's 40th anniversary my Western counterparts still managed to find some shade. And their faces shone as though they had acquired a monopoly on broadcasting the end of the world—that was how the disorders in the capital and a number of other cities of the GDR looked in their interpretation.

I see what has happened in a different light. There was absolutely no need to look far, as they say, in the GDR press for reports on the dramatic events. In just one recent issue NEUES DEUTSCHLAND assigned two pages to them. Of course, I can give only a brief account of them.

In Dresden large groups of young people gathered on the streets for several days. From slogans featuring the words "freedom" and "renewal" matters reached the point of calls to "beat and string up the communist swine! We want to see a corpse that has turned green!" Metal bars, stones, and air pistols were used against the forces of law and order. Damage estimated at 126,000 Marks was caused to the main station building alone. Some 70 people's militia members were wounded, some of them seriously.

In Karl-Marx-Stadt several hundred people broke into the city theater building and broke up a performance. Then a group of young people organized a "silence march" in support of the informal organizations. They were joined by about 600 people. Traffic was paralyzed in the city center.

In Plauen City several hundred people, moving through the city center in the direction of the city hall, broke the windows of houses, set a passenger vehicle on fire, and put a fire engine out of action. Together with onlookers the crowd increased to 4,000. Public insults were heard against GDR statesmen and other citizens, including representatives of the church who tried to reason with the crowd. When the German people's militia forces approached those taking part in the march dispersed.

Reports similar to these have come in from Leipzig, Magdeburg, Potsdam, Arnstadt, and Ilmenau. Nor have similar events bypassed the republic's capital.

How to assess what has happened in Berlin? As an act of provocation? But surely the police, at whom people in the crowd shouted—what do you think?—"Nazi pigs" and who initially stood aside and for a long time displayed the maximum restraint, felt they were being provoked?

In the very first comments on these events published in the youth newspaper JUNGE WELT one important circumstance drew attention: The authors did not set themselves the aim of "stigmatizing" and "nailing" anyone. "I am in favor of businesslike dialogue, but it cannot be conducted on the street under pressure and stress when emotions are being taken to excess." "If we want to continue to improve our society then this must be done only together, in a thoughtful way, through constructive work." "I believe that you don't need to be a doctor or nurse to condemn the violence used to achieve a change in the things which displease you." Three quotations, three opinions—from the director of a publishing house, an enterprise leader, and a medical professor. And all this under the headline: "Problems Must Be Resolved! But Should That Be Through Disorders?"

And there are enough of these problems. There is the regulation of the rules for temporary travel abroad, questions of supply, and of policy in the field of the mass media... In some respects they are similar to our problems, in other respects absolutely different. Let us not forget that for a long time now the GDR has not faced the task of how to feed the country, for instance. There is no shortage of necessities here. It is planned to complete a wide-scale housing construction program as early as next year.

All this does not belittle the achievements. But it would be absurd to suppose that the GDR, or indeed any other country, has nothing left to strive for. This very idea was expressed in an acutely polemic form by Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Union, in an open letter published in JUNGE WELT recently.

Hermann Kant, without doubting that 40 years of the GDR are a cause for celebration, at the same time speaks of the present-day defeat that he sees in the emigration of the republic's citizens to the FRG.

The JUNGE WELT published the critical letter addressed to it without a commentary of its own. Is silence a sign of agreement? The point is that in the present complex situation the newspaper is far from keeping silent. Always popular, in the past week, it has become literally the bestseller on the newspaper stands. The demand for the newspaper has considerably exceeded supply. Not avoiding difficult questions, seeking ways of resolving problems which arise, promoting dialogue among all strata of young people and society interested in strengthening socialism on German soil—that is the editorial office's credo.

Dialogue is under way, of course, not only in the press. It is gradually becoming a key concept in public life.

Yakovlev Receives GDR Ambassador Koenig

LD2010114589 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met with GDR ambassador to the USSR Gerd Koenig to discuss ways of upgrading and extending mutual cooperation.

Hungary Debates Procedure for Electing President

PM2010124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Ninety Amendments to the Constitution"]

[Text] Budapest—The country's official name will henceforth be the same as it was in the immediate postwar years: the Hungarian Republic. The decision to change the former name—the Hungarian People's Republic—was adopted almost unanimously by deputies in the Hungarian Parliament, who ratified at one go around, 90 amendments to the Constitution currently in force. In fact, bearing in mind the number of amendments and their significance, it can be said to be a matter of a qualitative renewal of the Hungarian Constitution adopted back in 1949.

"The Constitution of the transitional period," as one of the deputies called it after the amendments were adopted, "in many ways reflects a transitional period in the history of Hungarian statehood that is today called, for short, the 'peaceful transition' to a rule-of-law, democratic state on a multiparty basis. A whole series of the amendments to the Constitution provide for principles of the activities of political parties in the country; for instance, the unacceptability of their possible aspirations to forcibly seize power or exercise it exclusively. In view of the transition to a multiparty system, the Constitution no longer contains the provision about the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party or any other party.

The rights of the State Assembly itself have been considerably expanded with the adoption of the amendments, which will undoubtedly also have an effect on the democratization of the whole of Hungarian society. Henceforth not only the adoption of laws and the state budget, but also the declaration of a state of emergency and the decision to use the Hungarian Armed Forces both inside the country and beyond its borders will become the exclusive prerogative of parliament.

Among the most important changes enshrined by the renewed Constitution is the fundamentally new chapter about the president of the republic, a post which is now being introduced instead of a collective organ—the Hungarian Presidium. The statute agreed upon at the national "roundtable" on the status of the president—who will be called upon, side by side with parliament and the government, to implement the principle of the separation of supreme power—envisages quite extensive powers for him. For example, he can not only conclude international treaties in Hungary's name, but is also commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. However, the president may be called to account by parliament for violating the Constitution or other laws—the agreement of two-thirds of the deputies is needed for this.

It seems a long time since any question aroused arguments not just in parliament, but also in the whole of society like this question regarding the president of the republic. Under the Constitution's new provision, in the future the president will be elected by the State Assembly; however, the deputies and the participants in the "roundtable" talks before them proposed that the first president be elected by a universal ballot. Strange as it may seem, this intention provoked a sharp negative reaction among those who consider themselves to be democrats, the radically-minded members of the Union of Free Democrats and the Union of Young Democrats, which did not sign the agreement drawn up at the "roundtable." They have now organized the collection of signatures and are demanding a referendum regarding the form and timing of the election of the president. The 140,000 signatures that they have collected and presented to parliament, it must be admitted, put the deputies in a very difficult position.

Matters reached the point where M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, convened an extraordinary session of the government on Wednesday to examine the prevailing situation. As a result, the government, and in its footsteps the parliamentary deputies, adopted a compromise decision: In view of the signatures presented—provided that their authenticity is confirmed—they are sufficiently numerous to hold a referendum, to vote for the amendment introducing the post of president, but without specifying, as previously planned, the dates for the actual elections.

Parliament Debates, Situation in Hungary Reported

LD2210220689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Fesunenko] Every report arriving these days from Budapest, comrades, attracts committed attention, both ours and of the world in general. Important events are taking place in this country, which Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, who spoke at a political meeting in Szeged, described as a process of renewal of the socialist movement in Hungary. Well, in order to hear the latest news, we have decided to chat with our correspondent in Budapest, Yevgeniy Shirokov:

[Begin recording] [Fesunenko] This week began with stormy debates in parliament in Budapest, and we watched them attentively. But what are the latest reports, what's the latest news?

[Shirokov] Well, the highlight, one can say, of this week has indeed been this unusually full session of the State Assembly, which adopted decisions which are, to be quite frank, in many ways a watershed. But we have already spoken about them in our reports and so let me pass on to the very latest events.

Today, the nationwide conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] ended—the largest and most influential opposition group or movement, as they call themselves, in Hungary. Above all, they are representatives of the intelligentsia. The main goals which the MDF is striving for are democracy, a market economy, free elections and a multiparty parliament. Until recently, the Forum conducted a very rigid campaign for the immediate, categorical dissolution of the State Assembly in its present composition. Now, this kind of demand, these kinds of assertions have, somehow, been put on one side. Explaining these changes, one of the leaders of the Forum, Denes Csengey, told me the aims of the movement have remained unchanged and it has increasingly active supporters. However, the present process of transformations and the compromises and the concessions on the part of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, which has now become the Hungarian Socialist Party, have in many ways lowered the tension. And I would like to stress that this approach demonstrates that among the representatives of the Hungarian opposition there are quite constructive aspirations and people with whom it is possible to cooperate constructively.

[Fesunenko] But, on the other hand, judging from reports from your capital, there are still quite a number of both aggressive and extremist forces there as well.

[Shirokov] Yes, they do exist. They do. And there are manifestations of anti-Sovietism, and particularly now, when certain people would very much like—by returning to the tragic events of 1956, to events that, frankly speaking, are complex, contradictory and in many ways incompletely analyzed—to blame the Communists unequivocally for everything, and also those who defended the foundation of the popular system, and, of course, to point the finger at us, as if to say that the Soviet Army simply stifled the popular uprising. And, on the wave of this kind of utterance and feeling, there were attempts to declare 23 October a national festival and a holiday. But that very session which ended last week, the session of the State Assembly, rejected this proposal, declaring tomorrow a day of national reconciliation. Well, there will be many events, some of them will be planned, some will evidently take place spontaneously, but I think we will be able to tell you about this in our reports tomorrow.

[Fesunenko] Thank you and all the best. [video shows meeting and interview with Denes Czengey] [end recording]

West Europe

Wallenberg Association Continues Quest

LD2110120889 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondents Nikolay Vykolov and Igor Peskov:

Members of Raoul Wallenberg's family and representatives of the Wallenberg Association today had a second meeting with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov and KGB Deputy Chairman Vladimir Pirozhkov. Upon the conclusion of the meeting the Swedish delegation gave a news conference at the Swedish Embassy in Moscow.

Chairman of the Wallenberg Association Per Anger worked at the Swedish mission in Budapest during the war and collaborated with Wallenberg.

Per Anger said that during the latest round of talks with Soviet representatives, the Swedish side submitted a list of witnesses who met Raoul Wallenberg in Soviet prisons over the years or heard him mentioned.

Per Anger said the Soviet side answered virtually all the questions put by the Swedish side and readily responded to requests of the Swedish diplomat's relatives.

Thanks to this attitude, Wallenberg's half-brother Guy von Dardel and secretary of the association Sonia Sonnenfeldt will leave next Monday for Vladimir, Central Russia. There they will visit the prison in which, as asserted by a number of witnesses, Raoul Wallenberg may have been alive, even after July 17, 1947—the date of his death according to the Soviet official sources.

Wallenberg's half-sister Nina Lagergren and Per Anger leave for home today.

Nikolay Uspenskiy, chief of the Second European Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told a briefing at the Foreign Ministry press centre today that the Soviet side has no doubts that the Swedish diplomat died in the Lubyanka Prison in 1947. However, Wallenberg's relatives have a right to continue their quest.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that if they have more requests, the Soviet side will be prepared to help them.

Sister Interviewed on KGB Visit

LD2010102489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Vsevolod Solovyev report; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Solovyev] We have already reported that Nina Lagergren, sister of Raul Wallenberg is in Moscow. [video shows still of Wallenberg] This photograph of Raul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, was taken in November 1944. He was 31 at the time, and worked in the Swedish Embassy in Budapest, carrying out a special mission. Taking advantage of his diplomatic status he saved Jews, whom the Nazis were dispatching to the death camps. Wallenberg gave them Swedish documents and concealed them in abandoned buildings. He was successful in saving tens of thousands of people. Wallenberg was seen for the last time in company on 17 January 1945, when he was travelling to meet the command of the Soviet troops, which had just occupied Budapest after the retreat of the Hitlerites. There was no official information about the fate of the Swedish diplomat before 1957, when the Soviet Union, which had previously denied arresting Wallenberg in Budapest, informed the Swedes that Wallenberg died of a heart attack in Moscow in the Lubyanka prison in 1947. Stockholm refused to accept this version of events. [video switches to interview with Nina Lagergren by Solovyev]

[Begin recording; Lagergren in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Solovyev] Miss Lagergren, you are in Moscow for the first time on an official invitation. You were received in the KGB, where you were presented with a document confirming the death of your brother. Are you satisfied with the explanations you have received?

[Lagergren in English with superimposed Russian translation] We will never accept [in English: We have never accepted...] this document, which bears witness to the death of my brother, and we have come to Moscow not to see a document. This could have been arranged in Stockholm. We have come to Moscow in order to start a dialogue with the Soviet authorities; moreover this is happening for the first time. We have had the opportunity to present to the Soviet side the documents we have, and we expect to hear tomorrow the answers to the questions we asked.

[Solovyev] You cannot believe that the Soviet Union has nothing concerning the fate of your brother except certificates signed by the prison doctor?

[Lagergren] No, we cannot believe this. We have evidence, certain testimony, that Raul Wallenberg is alive today, and Mikhail Gorbachev, when he was in New York at the United Nations, promised us that he would do everything possible to clarify the destiny of my brother.

[Solovyev] Which version of the fate of your brother do you consider the most likely?

[Lagergren] There are many witnesses who assert that Raul lived for a very long time after 1947. Perhaps some testimonies give rise to doubts about this, but if one puts them all together there is no doubt that Raul did not die in 1947. He was seen in many places, in particular in Vladimir prison, and in many other prisons.

[Solovyev] So you consider that a genuine investigation into the fate of your brother has started only now.

[Lagergren] Just so. That is absolutely true. This has been possible thanks to glasnost, thanks to your new policy with relation to human rights. I am certain that many governments, yours above all, will give us assistance in our search, and we will finally find out the whole truth. [heard in English:...and release him.] I believe that this will be so. [end recording]

[Solovyev] It is evident that the human being is made in such a way that the death of a near one, which was concealed from him for long years, the evidence of which was not presented for even longer years, cannot be taken in by him immediately. The belief in the fact that a person is alive, or at least the conviction that something is continuing to be hidden from him, turns out to be stronger than the facts in such a case.

Threats to European Stability Outlined

90UI0059A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Vladlen Kuznetsov: "Political Autumn in Europe"]

[Text] If the Nobel Peace Prize were awarded not only to people, but to countries or continents as well, then this year's prize might justly be awarded to Europe. Europe fully deserves it, having pursued for itself and the entire globe a policy of reason and realism, of cooperation and agreement.

The current "European year" of world politics is rich in events which are shaping the Europe of today and the future. The final document of the Vienna meeting, a true "breakthrough" in the humanitarian sphere, has provided powerful impetus to the entire post-Helsinki process and the process of rapprochement between East and West. The political and economic contacts which have been made through Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) and European Economic Community (EEC) channels allow us to hope that problems concerning the welfare of Europeans and the ecology will be resolved by united efforts. Negotiations have begun in Vienna on the mutual reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, promising to become—following the elimination of medium and shorter-range "Euro-missiles" according to Soviet-American agreement—a major benchmark on the path to diminishing military confrontation on the continent. This will be facilitated as well by the unilateral measures taken this year by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact nations to lessen military tensions.

In short, M.S. Gorbachev, visiting the GDR on the occasion of its 40th anniversary, had every justification to declare in Berlin that if European affairs proceed in the direction they are presently headed, we can then expect a conclusive departure from the era of the "cold war" and the beginning of a genuinely peaceful period in European history. This conclusion and prediction are also based, one must presume, on the results of recent meetings between the Soviet leader and the leaders of Great Britain, France, West Germany, and Ireland. This is evidently also the "European year" of Soviet politics, especially since the Soviet leader is scheduled to visit Finland and Italy as well.

The idea of a common European home impresses many, it seems, but this can be achieved only under conditions of increased strategic stability, only with a solid foundation for the common European process which does not give way to the influence of destructive political "muddy waters." It can come about only in the spirit of the policy of the new thinking—not that old style of thought directed towards confrontation, tests of strength, and "tug-of-war."

Today two dangers threaten the strategic stability in Europe: the temptation to take advantage of transformations going on in the USSR and other socialist countries and "squeeze" socialism; and the regurgitation of old slogans on re-drawing the political map of Europe, changing borders. Both dangers must be dealt with. After all, it is quite a bit easier to shatter strategic stability than it is to create it. And this was achieved through the incredibly difficult and painstaking effort of all Europeans.

Not too long ago in Washington we heard about a "shady" project, ascribed to Henry Kissinger and certain other distinguished political experts, a scheme entailing some "all-encompassing deal" between the United States and USSR on how to act in Europe or, more accurately, with regard to Hungary, Poland, and other East European countries. It was proposed to effect either their "Finlandization" or "Austriazation" (neutralization in the manner as took place with Austria). How easy it is for some to "neutralize" other states, to re-draw other systems of alliances! But lay one finger on their own, and a double standard suddenly appears—one's own alliance is not touched, but there is no need to stand on ceremony with regard to that of others. It is sufficient to recall how in NATO they reject the very concept of "neutralizing" the FRG...

The West German publication DIE WELT reported recently on a concept supposedly engendered within NATO circles in Brussels. The idea involved a "plan to afford neutral status in stages to a number of East European states and effect their departure from the organization of the Warsaw Pact." NATO representatives have disputed the existence of such a scheme. But this does not refute the fact that such thoughts are circulating on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is evident that some people simply cannot abandon the ugly habit of trying to resolve the affairs of others, and doing it, no less, behind the backs of those who are directly involved. But the fate of Poland will be decided in Warsaw, the fate of Hungary—in Budapest, and nowhere else. This is exactly the way it is with problems concerning the GDR—as touched upon again in the

GDR capital by M.S. Gorbachev. They will be decided not in Moscow, but in Berlin.

It is necessary to protect this right and the stability of a peaceful order on the continent from those who are trying to rock the European boat.

Is it possible that someone in the Europe of today can be seriously thinking about a common European home—construction of which is welcomed by the leaders of many countries and all serious political experts—without paying everyone the respect he is due, without recognizing his rights to integrity and security, the right to furnish his own apartment according to his tastes? Quarrelsome dispositions and intrigues cannot be tolerated in such a home. It is not becoming to quarrel here, just like in the case of the Gogol characters Ivan Ivanovich and Ivan Nikiforovich, one of whom sawed off the beams supporting his neighbor's barn at night.

It seems to be the right time to say that certain circles have now set as their goal the aim of replacing the real, topical problems of the continent by far-fetched, unfeasible projects—like shifting to the forefront the German question of "reunification," for which there are no objective conditions whatsoever. Or they stir up European politics into some unhealthy hullabaloo, or speculate about the changes in Poland and Hungary, about prospects for development in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. An attempt is being made to switch the attention of European society away from the central problems connected with reducing military confrontation, turning confrontation into cooperation, strengthening stability on the continent, and developing an integration of the two Europes. The impression is being created that certain people want to thrust an old line onto the Old World—replace cooperation with confrontation.

Moscow realizes that detente in Europe has not yet been conclusively affirmed. Its irreversibility has yet to be secured. The USSR is prepared to exert maximum effort in this regard. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the GDR on the occasion of its 40th anniversary constitutes the support of an ally, a truly peace-loving state that has done so much in postwar years to see that war never again issues from German soil. It is the support of all forces which realize that a common European home can be built only on a solid foundation, a foundation of the inviolability of postwar borders and an uncontested status quo. The Soviet Union strictly supports the policy of rapprochement in the positions of various states, of overcoming alienation in Europe.

If the European world of nature is sinking into an autumn sleep and preparing for winter hibernation, there is nothing in its political life to indicate any wilting. On the contrary, a genuine boom is being observed. The stock shares of the common European home are steadily increasing in value. Problems associated with it were discussed extensively in New York at meetings between E.A. Shevardnadze and his colleagues from the European countries. During the course of these and other meetings, urgent current affairs as well as judgments for the future are being examined. The chances are being considered for conducting two proposed meetings—one at the beginning of next year on the level of the foreign ministers of the European countries, United States, and Canada, to find an outcome for negotiations on reducing conventional arms; the other during the second half of next year at the summit level to ratify an agreement under signature, if one can be worked out by that time. Also not far around the corner is Helsinki-2, a new common European meeting scheduled for 1992 which requires timely, solid preparation.

The European autumn is seen in Moscow as the time to collect the fruit of the Helsinki process and create the conditions for a new yield, and not as a time for squandering what has become common European property.

Turkey's Foreign Minister Yilmaz Cited on Ties

PM2310135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Following the Initial Shock. Variable and Permanent Factors of Turkish Policy"]

[Excerpt] Ankara— [Passage omitted] The question of the trial of H. Kutlu and N. Sargin, leaders of the United Communist Party of Turkey, which has been going on since June last year, and of this party's legalization, remains topical. Circles close to the government express the belief that the party will sooner or later operate on a legal basis and its leaders will be set free. For the time being, however, four members of the United Communist Party of Turkey Central Committee who voluntarily returned home have ended up behind bars, just like the party leaders.

Despite all the domestic political diversity and the fierce polemics, the country has virtually arrived at a consensus on its foreign policy course, including the development of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. PRAVDA's correspondent was told this by Turkish Foreign Minister M. Yilmaz. "These relations," the minister said, "have long-established traditions and a stable foundation. The boosting of trade and economic cooperation dates back to the sixties, when a series of major industrial projects were built in our country with Soviet assistance. A qualitatively new stage has been developing in our relations over the last 2-3 years. We now perceive them as a model of relations between states with different social systems. We have succeeded in solving all disputed questions which had remained unsolved for decades: After a break of almost 50 years the checkpoint and border crossing on our common border at Sarpi has been reopened, accord on flight information zones over the Black Sea has been reached, and a consular agreement has been signed. Our business partnership was given a powerful boost by the 1984 agreement on deliveries of Soviet gas to Turkey in exchange for Turkish goods. Commodity turnover is growing and economic cooperation is developing on its basis. A major role in this has been played both by our government's new economic policy and by perestroyka in the Soviet Union. But the potential of mutually advantageous partnership is far from exhausted. The policy of creating a 'belt of confidence and security' around Turkey coincides with the new political thinking which the Soviet leadership is introducing in international practice."

The attention of local mass media and business circles is focused on Soviet-Turkish relations. The positive developments in this sphere are indisputable. Over the last 2 years, for example, commodity turnover between the two countries almost doubled and is in excess of $700 million. This figure is still quite modest but, according to local economists, it can be doubled again by 1990. This is partially due to increasing deliveries of Soviet gas, which is already available in Ankara homes. But this is not all. The outlines of new and modern forms of economic collaboration are beginning to emerge.

There is no need to look far for examples. The "Transbosfor" Joint Sea Cargo Company was formed recently. Turkey's "Yapi ve Kredi" Bank opened an office in Moscow. A consortium of Turkish banks headed by "Emlak Bankasi" granted our country a credit line of $500 million to purchase consumer goods and equipment for the light and food industries in Turkey. The ENKA Trade and Industry Association (holding company) is building a hospital for war veterans and is rebuilding the Petrovskiy Passazh in Moscow. Another association—Baykur—is building a hotel in Makhachkala. Turkish construction contractor companies will build tourist complexes in Yalta, Pitsunda, and Batumi. Our country has placed orders for 12 timber carriers with Turkish shipyards, and orders for a series of several dozen cargo ships look likely in the future. A combine for the production of construction materials and of sanitary and technical fittings for apartments will be built in Borisoglebsk with Turkish participation. The flow of passengers and freight through Sarpi is swelling. It is planned to open a Soviet consulate in the Black Sea city of Trabzon. It is impossible to list all spheres where mutual interests intertwine.

Girenko, SPD Aide Discuss Soviet Germans

PM2310101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Contacts"]

[Text] A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had talks 20 October with G. Schroeder, member of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD] and chairman of the SPD land organization in Lower Saxony, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. During a frank and friendly conversation A.N. Girenko familiarized the guest with various aspects of the perestroyka processes taking place in our country, and particularly dwelt on the problems of interethnic relations. G. Schroeder shared his impressions of his trip to the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, during which he met with representatives of Soviet Germans living on the republic's territory. At the guest's request the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee briefed him on the work currently under way to resolve the entire range of Soviet Germans' problems.

G. Schroeder left Moscow for the FRG the same day.

Parliamentarians Hold Talks in Denmark

PM2310103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 20 Oct—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by B.I. Oleynik, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, now visiting Denmark, has met with the leadership of the parliamentary factions of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the Socialist People's Party, the Left Socialist Party, and the Radical Liberal Party and also with the chairmen of a number of Folketing (parliament) standing committees, including B. Elmquist, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee.

The Danish politicians were briefed on the work of the latest session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the activity of USSR people's deputies, and progress in preparing the elections to local organs of power. The Soviet side stressed its desire to develop Soviet-Danish interparliamentary exchanges, particularly by establishing direct ties between the committees and commissions of the Folketing and the USSR Supreme Soviet—which would be in keeping with the atmosphere of preparations to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the establishment of treaty relations between Denmark and Russia.

A conversation took place between the Soviet delegation and A. Jorgensen, chairman of the Nordic Parliamentarians' Committee for a Nuclear-Free Zone in Northern Europe.

The Soviet parliamentary delegation also met with the leadership of the Danish Communist Party, representatives of the Danish public, and activists of the Denmark-USSR Society.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation completed its political talks in Denmark today with a meeting with the leadership of the parliamentary faction of the Conservative People's Party and H.P. Clausen, speaker of the Folketing.

During the conversations they discussed problems of developing cooperation between the Folketing and the USSR Supreme Soviet at all levels. The Soviet parliamentarians briefed the Danes on the work of the new

USSR parliament and the development of the process of democratization of all aspects of Soviet society's life. Great attention was paid to discussing areas of preparation for the 1993 celebration of the 500th anniversary of the establishment of treaty relations between our countries.

Questions concerning cooperation among parliamentarians in the struggle to build trust among the peoples and develop the common European process occupied a significant place in the discussions. Both sides expressed in this regard the wish to activate ties between twinned Soviet and Danish cities and also set up youth exchanges between our countries.

Participants in the meetings also drew attention to questions of Soviet-Danish cooperation on problems of observing human rights, which is particularly topical in view of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, which is to be held in Copenhagen next year and Moscow in 1991. Discussion of the prospects for and practical aspects of bilateral cooperation on the environment, particularly the normalization of the situation in the Baltic Sea, was continued.

Belgian Politician Visits Moscow, Leningrad

PM2310103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] G. Deprez, president of the Belgian Social Christian Party, was in the USSR 16 through 21 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

G. Deprez was received at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Foreign Ministry, visited a number of academic institutes, and traveled to Leningrad.

During the talks, opinions were exchanged on a wide range of issues relating to international politics—above all, European politics.

The Belgian guest was briefed in detail, in accordance with his wishes, on the development of perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union.

Supreme Soviet Session

Work Continues in Commissions, Committees 19 Oct

Health Care Issues Discussed

LD2010140389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 19 October carries a 30-minute report by Correspondent Olga Vasilenko on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

Vaslineko reviews today's activities, starting with the Commission on Planning, Budget, and Finance and interviews Otar Naskidovich Gudushauri, USSR people's deputy from Georgia and director of the center for Traumatology and Orthopaedia of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He says that for health care "the state has allocated R26.577 billion for 1990. About 53 percent of this amount will be spent on remuneration of medical personnel. One has to take into account, too, that salaries are to be increased for a large group of health care workers in 1990 on the basis of the 1986 decision. The percentage earmarked for salaries will increase up to 60 percent, approximately. At the same time, one has to realize that over R4 billion have been earmakred for developing health care. In total, about R10 billion are left for treating patients and their upkeep in hospitals in the whole country. There is a reason that the commission for public health has asked the government to allocate at least R9 billion more. The purchase of medicines alone—and we have an acute shortage of medicines in the country—will cost several billion rubles". Additional funds can be found, in his opinion by redistributing functions between the Ministry of Health and republican ministries of social security.

Vasilenko goes on to look at the work of the Committtee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, which meets in the Kremlin. They have been examining the struggle against organized crime. Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, the committee chairman, speaks about their tasks and general lines of work.

Correspondent Gennadiy Kalenov then takes over and speaks about the work of the Commissions on Issues of Transport, Communications, and Information Technology. Today Erlen Kirikovich Pervyshin, USSR Minister of Communications, explained to commission members the structure of his ministry and relative investments in electronic communications. It turns out that the USSR invests as little as 0.11 percent of its GNP in industry. Commission members have submitted a proposal to allocate an additional R320 million to the ministry. Other issues of ministry work were discussed.

Vasilenko takes over and presents a recording of Anatoliy Vasilyevich Reshetnikov, secretary of the Commission on Issues of Development of Industry, Power Engineering, Equipment and Technology, who says that because the Supreme Soviet has not discussed a general concept of developing the national economy and economic reform, there is disparity in the work of commissions and committees and this results in a waste of precious time.

To wind up, Vasilenko reports on yesterday's meeting of the Committee on International Affairs devoted to a draft law on exit from the USSR and plays a recording of an interview with Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, who praises the committee's work. The new law will enable people to go where they would wish yet the main difficulty will be of a financial nature because until the ruble becomes convertible there will be very serious economic restrictions.

Draft Law on Socialist Enterprises Noted

LD2010142889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 19 October carries a report by Correspondent Gennadiy Kolenov on the work of USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

Kolenov reports that he has managed to attend three commissions and committees today [19 October]. At the committee on Agrarian Issues and Foodstuffs, Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, reported to the members of the committee how the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies are being implemented. In the afternoon the members of the committee went over to the examination of the draft law on land. Kolenov continues:

"In the Commission for the Development of Industry, Power Engineering, and Technology today the discussion was continued of the no less important draft law on socialist enterprise put forward by the Council of Ministers. The commission took the decision not to approve the given draft law, not to recommend a first reading of it, but to send it back for further work by the Council of Ministers, taking into account the comments and proposals made by the deputies. Taking into account the opinion that has been formed in the commission of the concept of the law needed on the socialist enterprise, a decision was taken on the need for working groups with respect to all the seven draft laws in the economic system for the purpose of direct participation in the work of the other committees and commissions when those laws are discussed and coordination with the voting on the law on the socialist enterprise."

Kolenov next recalls that the commission on the work of the soviets of people's deputies is examining the draft law on ownership and the fundamentals of the USSR and union republican legislation law on the land in there interconnection with the draft law on the general principles of local self-government and local economy, which was adopted at the first reading at yesterday's session of the Supreme Soviet.

Organized Crime Discussed

PM2310095789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Yu. Feofanov: "How To Struggle Against Mafia"]

[Text] Last Thursday [19 October] there was a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, discussing how to enhance the effectiveness of the struggle against organized crime and how to expose the bribers, embezzlers of public funds, and speculators who have created cohesive criminal formations.

It is an open secret that recently the investigation services and detection organs are increasingly frequently turning up mafia clans but far from all of them are they successfully handing over to justice and of those who are handed over far from all receive their just deserts: There are suspicions, there is some evidence, but not persuasive enough for a conviction. Emerging from the influence of "telephone law," acquiring independence, and finding their "legal feet," the courts are refusing to rewrite charges as sentences. And however angry we may be that "criminals are emerging unscathed," we must pay the judges their due: This is the way and the only way they must operate in a rule-of-law society.

But what is to be done? The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has proposed a number of measures on this plane. They include the legalization of eavesdropping on telephone conversations (at present the law forbids this without any exception); they include the recognition of videotapes and sound tapes as evidence. In addition it has been planned to step up liability for bringing criminal influence to bear on witnesses and victims; to step up punishment right up to the death penalty for members of organized criminal groups.

Representatives of the MVD, the KGB, and the USSR Prosecutor's Office justified quite convincingly the proposed draft laws on additions to the criminal procedure law. They stressed that equipment now is such that it makes it possible to acquire indisputable evidence and to rule out falsifications and juggling.

"During the events in Fergana many episodes which were irrefutable evidence were filmed on video but the court does not accept them as evidence."

"Without these facilities you will simply not expose racketeers, bribers, and mafia ringleaders."

"These methods are used extensively in all civilized states. The U.S. attorney general was extremely surprised when he learned that our law forbids telephone eavesdropping."

Those were some of the arguments of the representatives of administrative departments.

The committee members seemed to have no principled objections. But... questions arose. Questions such that they immediately revealed vulnerable spots in the proposed draft law. I would divide the two positions into extreme opposites and the participants in the discussion will forgive me a certain simplification. Lawyers representing administrative power were concerned that not a single criminal should avoid liability; the people's deputies, both lawyers and nonlawyers, were concerned that not a single innocent person should suffer. I shall cite a few statements by the committee members.

"The tyranny of criminals must not be replaced with the tyranny of the law enforcement organs. I am in favor of bugging equipment. But the court should give permission for it."

"It is scarcely realistic for the court to do so. It should be the prosecutor."

"But until the fate of the investigation's subordination is decided, it is pointless to speak of independent supervision by the prosecutor's office—it simply does not exist in our country."

"The administrative organs want to untie their own hands without giving guarantees that citizens' rights will not be violated—we cannot do that."

"They mention civilized states but everywhere there the lawyer is present from the moment of arrest."

"Over there the indicting authority presents evidence to a trial by jury that is an independent court. Is our court like that?"

The discussion continued exactly an hour. The result was summed up by committee chairman S.S. Alekseyev. His resume can be expressed in just one phrase: "Any methods are permissible to expose criminals... on condition that they are strictly legal and do not infringe one iota on people's rights." It was decided to assign the working up of the draft bill not to the law enforcement departments but to their subcommittees with, naturally, the participation of the departments.

...I watch all Supreme Soviet plenary sessions without a break on television. Then I exchange opinions with my colleagues and friends and chance acquaintances. Our opinions range from delight to insults. Well, there are grounds for that for all the inadmissibility of the latter with regard to parliament. But we have before us only the visible part of the iceberg of the new power. The main lawmaking work is taking place in the committees and commissions.

No, I do not want to take a complimentary tone. Nonetheless I must say that the 19 October committee sitting made an impression on me: The people's deputies stand on legal positions and stand quite firmly.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Convenes 20 Oct

Gorbachev Chairs Session

LD2010183989 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—At a meeting chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev today, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet examined issues related to the second session of the national parliament.

Following a report by First Vice-president Anatoliy Lukyanov, the Presidium considered a bill "on changes and amendments to the Constitution (fundamental law) of the USSR concerning issues of the electoral system."

The bill, drafted by a commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, will be submitted to parliament.

Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Council of the Union, presented bills on the status of people's deputies, on the procedure for recalling people's deputies, on rules of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the Supreme Soviet, and on a proposed procedure for the annual renewal of the parliament's composition.

These bills have been submitted for consideration to the nation's parliament.

The Presidium discussed amending legislation on interethnic relations.

It approved a model charter of the provisional committee assigned to combat crime.

Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Standing Commission for nationalities policy and Inter-Ethnic Relations in the Council of Nationalities, informed the Presidium about conclusions of a deputies' commission for the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

The commission thoroughly analysed the situation in the region and submitted several proposals aimed to settle the conflict.

In the discussion that followed, the Presidium worked out suggestions for a political settlement of the problem, which were handed over to the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet and to the People's Deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh.

The suggestions will then be submitted to the Supreme Soviet.

Interethnic Relations Laws Viewed

LD2010202189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Today, in the Kremlin, under the chairmanship of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place. Issues concerning the continuation of the work of the second session of the country's Supreme Soviet were discussed. [Passage omitted]

At the session, issues concerning the renewal of legislature in the field of interethnic relations were discussed. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a statement on the progress of work on preparation of the drafts of the law on the free development and use of languages on a basis of equal rights of the peoples of the USSR, of the law on the free ethnic development of the country's citizens living within the boundaries of their ethnic state formations or not possessing them on USSR territory, and of the law on the introduction of amendments and additions to the USSR law on USSR citizenship.

It was decided to pass the prepared draft laws for study to the corresponding committees of the USSR supreme Soviet and the permanent commissions of its chambers.

The Presidium approved the rough provision on chairmen and presidia of local soviets of people's deputies worked out regarding the proposals of the presidia of the Supreme Soviets and Councils of Ministers of the union republics.

Information for Kucherenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission on the work in commissions and committees on drafts of the plan and budget for 1990 was noted. [passage omitted

Work Continues in Commissions, Committees 20 Oct

KGB Reports on Border Protection

LD2010192889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This is Mayak, in the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy is at the microphone.

[Ruvinskiy] In this program we will tell you about the work of just a few standing bodies of our Supreme Soviet. Let me start with the session of the Committee on Defense and State Security. As you will understand, not all of its sessions are open, but representatives of the press were invited to today's session. I also managed to be there today. The subject under discussion was the work of our border troops. Army General Vadim Aleksandrovich Matrosov, deputy chairman of the committee of state security [KGB], gave a report. He spoke of the way our border troops work in current conditions and how restructuring is proceeding in this area. This is what he had to say, in part:

[Begin Matrosov recording] The USSR not only has the most extensive state border, but also the most complex and varied ones in the political, physico-geographical, economic, and other respects. No other country has anything similar. The number of neighboring countries that we have is, as you will know, the biggest; we have eleven. There is very great diversity. [passage omitted]

Admission into the state at the borders takes place also by juridical right. We see border violations thee also. Are there agents? Yes, there are agents of foreign centers and of special agencies. Well, it is said that one cannot make unsubstantiated remarks about them; one must be specific. I want to cite a final example. Unfortunately, I can provide neither details nor anything else. Various foreign centers are actively using Afghanistan now, the territory of Afghanistan, to act against and to send people into our territory. Recently a group of emissaries who were trained in Peshawar and elsewhere—a group which penetrated, or attempted to penetrate our territory in the south with weapons and ammunition, systems, currency and so on—was arrested. We are currently conducting enquiries. As for bringing them to court... as a rule and to a considerable extent, the majority of border violators do not face criminal charges in cases where they have not caused any damage to the state. That is, they have committed an act by having violated the border. In such a case, our corresponding agencies approach such an issue in such a manner.

Violation of the border from within the Soviet Union... I have named general figures. Of them, 81 percent apply to violation of the border from without. I will stress it once more: These are border violations from outside. Only 19 percent are a attempts to leave us. I would like to quote one example of two border violators who were recently detained. After all, exits have been made simpler now. You could have applied, and so on. Do you know what they say? Well what will we present there? We will cross over, will arrive there, will show our passports, and what then? We interest no one. If we violate the border, and if we tell how we were shot at and so on—something, which we as a rule do not do—then this will create an impression and will change our conditions. [passage omitted]

The border guards at present—as all our units and troops—are undergoing radical restructuring of the whole system of border protection. Zones are being eliminated and crossing of the state border is being simplified. Wire fences are being taken down in many sectors. We believe the time of such fences has passed; other technical means are necessary. Both the tactics and the basis of state border protection is being restructured. Everyone is interested in the question of nonregulation relations in the border troops. Perhaps they have not assumed such a state, but we have missed the stage when these nonregulation relations started to develop in the border troops—the border troops are not an organism divorced from the general organism of the country—and we missed the stage of struggle. Therefore, we have suffered losses from this. That is, nonregulation mutual relations and violation of service regulations of mutual relations have occurred in the border troops. There is crime. In particular, this year we have 22 such cases. They are not such serious ones connected with murder and so forth. Nevertheless, the very atmosphere of the collective is already seriously interfered with. We are paying special attention to this. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Comrade Matrosov answered the deputies' numerous questions. To a significant degree they concerned the social sphere of the border troops. At the sitting KGB chairman Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov also spoke. He remarked that now a fundamentally new concept of state border protection is being formed and in particular he said the following about it:

[Begin Kryuchkov recording] The new concept of protection of our border must contain in itself fundamentally new elements and provisions, insofar as the situation on the border has sharply changed, if one is to speak about the territory of the Soviet Union and about the state of affairs in the neighboring countries. First, we must think seriously about the fact that realities demand we look in an absolutely new way at exchanges and at border crossings. Last year more than 10 million people crossed the border of the Soviet Union. This is only the beginning. In the near future there will be signficantly more of those crossings. Until now we have not had this on our border route. A further point: Major construction works are being conducted directly at the border, and major economic activity is being conducted. Installations have begun to be established on both sides of the border on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Trade and economic contacts are very broad, not only in the border zone, but also on the scale of the Soviet Union and of the countries adjacent to our border. This all also requires from us an absolutely, so to speak, new approach. As for the economic zone, which Vadim Aleksandrovich [Marasov] mentioned briefly, I have had occasion to speak about this when I spoke from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet. It is an immense task of major importance, and for the meantime we have not found cardinal ways to thoroughly resolve this task. The point is 8.6 million sq km. The point is immense assets, and for the meantime a part of the assets is unfortunately illegally leaving for other countries. We must not only preserve those assets and make them the property of our national economy, but we must also see to it that those assets are constantly multiplied. Therein lies the source of our future wealth.

One of the measures, major measures on the road to creation of a new concept is the problem of the border zone. The latter is very big, 3.6 million sq km. Moreover, it was created not at the initiative of the border troops. The point is, that throughout all the period of Soviet authority, local authorities have been making requests to increase that zone, because it is more calm living with such a border zone. There is less poaching and it is more secure; it was convenient both for the local bodies and for the population. Thus, this border zone has reached such major proportions. As you know, the territory of the soviet union is 22 million sq km, and 3.6 million sq km are border zone areas. We have prepared the proposal, being convinced that there is simply no sense at all in continuing to preserve such a border zone. In some places, it stretches up to 600 km. We have also met different attitudes to this. The common sense of many prompts the idea that the zone must be reduced. Evidently emotions and certain local interests dictate something else, and after we made such a proposal, requests poured in to us to preserve the border zone, or at least not to reduce them to the extent we planned. I think the viewpoint of those comrades is not legitimate, although we naturally understand their concern. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Vladimir Lavrentyevich Lapygin, chairman of the committee, summed up the discussion. He proposed that the work of the Committee for State Security in protecting the border and in reducing the border zone should be approved, and that the adoption of necessary measures to prevent economic damage to the state from the violation of frontiers should be recommended, and also that proposals directed at the strengthening of the social sphere of our border troops should be supported. The deputies approved these proposals. [passage omitted]

Glasnost Committee on Draft Bill

LD2010143989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 20 October carries a 7-minute report by correspondent Vladimir Marken on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees. Marken notes that on Monday, 23 October, there will be a discussion of the draft bill on the status of people's deputies and that for now the deputies are working without having clearly defined rights and duties. He also points out that the work of all the committees and commissions is undefined in general and also in terms of each one's specific features.

Next, Marken says that the Committee on Glasnost is currently working on its draft bill on the permanent commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet, and Boris Nikolayevich Nikolskiy is interviewed on how his committee is working on its status as a committee. Nikolskiy says every committee and commission is planning to work on elaborating its own status with the examination of its specific duties. He says it is important to work out what rights they have and what their duties are and to what extent decisions taking by the committees and commissions are binding and on whom. The deputy chairman points out that sometimes deputies are left wondering if they have the right to adopt certain decisions. He says they are also looking at the rights of deputies who hold a minority view and that his committee is trying to work out how it should deal with citizens' appeals, and what its duties in matters of glasnost are.

Marken notes that this is not provided for in the schedule of the Supreme Soviet second session, and Nikolskiy says that in his view all the committees will be in favor of putting forward discussion of their rights and duties.

Speaking of his work as head of the group for the coverage of deputies' activities in the media, Nikolskiy remarks this is necessary in order to monitor just how full the coverage of deputies' activities is. He points out there have been cases when the media have discredited deputies' activities, illustrating this on the example of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA which wrongly attributed a speech to a Klaipeda deputy and subsequently apologized. Nikolskiy says sometimes such errors occur through negligence or deliberately and that is why it is important to monitor media coverage.

Budget Commission Examines Taxes

LD2010215189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 20 October broadcasts a 6-minute report by Andrey Nikiforov on today's work of the committees and commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He concentrates on the work of the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance of the Soviet of the Union, which is examining the draft law on a unified taxation system in the USSR. The Commission established working groups, which worked on individual sections of the law. Leaders of these groups reported on their work today. Vladimir Mikhailovich Semenov, leader of the group on income tax, was one of the rapporteurs. Nikiforov asks Semenov to comment on some of the proposals which were formulated by his group.

Semenov says that the draft excludes former shortcomings of the taxation system. He notes that the fact that the minimum level of taxable income has been raised is very correct, because the population will gain considerably from this. "This gain will amount to almost R200 million in case of low-paid categories." A slight increase of income tax for those who earn up to R700 will provide around R20 million gain for the budget." Semenov goes on to say that those who earn up to a R700 in the new system will be paying the same income tax as they paid in the old system. But those earning more than R700 and less than R900 will pay only R2 more than previously. But the losers will be those whose monthly income is more than R1,000 per month. A specially "progressive system" will affect those with financial income higher than R5,000 per month. He says that from the social viewpoint, this scale is more just than the previous one and notes that in drafting this proposal the group studied experience from practically all developed countries. He goes on to say: "We are now looking into the possibilities of raising the level on nontaxable income up to R100 and then up to R120 per month from 1992. The interests of highly paid and highly qualified workers employed in harmful conditions are not affected, he says. All their privileges are preserved and they even gain a little from the new system. It has been proposed that they are taxed as all other workers, but their wages will be raised to such a degree which will ensure that they do not incurr any loses. However, the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to give its consent on this proposal.

Semenov continues by saying that his working group agreed that a unified taxation system—the same as that applicable to workers and employees—should not be introduced in the case of collective farms workers. In this case, under the proposed scheme, the low-paid are gaining around R2 per month, the highly paid, up to R700 per month, are gaining more than R40 per month in comparison with workers and employees. "Our group considers that it has so far been impossible to introduce a unified system of taxation," because of the bad situation in foodstuffs production and in attracting town citizens to permanent work in the countryside." "A preferential taxation system is envisaged for leaseholders and future Soviet farmers. The system is very advantageous with only 10 percent of taxation. Such low taxation does not exist in any country of the world," concludes Semenov.

Supreme Soviet Convenes Joint Session 23 Oct

Soviet Constitution Discussed

LD2310081789 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet began its Monday session with a discussion of proposed electoral changes to the Soviet Constitution. Supreme Soviet's two chambers held a joint session chaired by President Gorbachev to discuss a bill on changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution on electoral procedures.

Soviet First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov gave a report about its work.

Other bills scheduled for discussion include a draft law on the status of Soviet People's Deputies, procedures for their recalling, procedures for the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and for annual renewal of the parliament's membership.

Shevardnadze Addresses Session

LD2310143889 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming trips to Finland and Italy, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has told parliament.

In his address to the Supreme Soviet today, Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet Union expects that the visits will not only improve relations with these countries. They will also give a fresh impetus to the Helsinki process, to the further elaboration of the layout of the all-European home, and to progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and on confidence-building measures.

Presenting a detailed review of Soviet foreign policy Shevardnadze dwelt on Soviet-American relations. He expressed hope that the next Soviet-American summit will endorse and substantiate the transition from mutual understanding to interaction, above all in the field of nuclear disarmament.

Shevardnadze spoke about the international importance of perestroyka and about the new political thinking that is being applied to international relations.

He considered issues of disarmament and confidence-building measures and stated his position on regional conflicts.

Speaking about bilateral relations, Shevardnadze drew attention to positive changes in the USSR's relations with China, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and many other countries.

The minister gave special attention to the new phenomena taking place in the socialist world.

He made a critical assessment of several past policy decisions, including the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan and the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar. (Summary of Shevardnadze's statement will follow).

Draft Law Eases Entry, Exit Requirements

LD2010124389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] A draft law on the procedure for exit from and entry to the USSR by Soviet citizens was discussed at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs. It will help those who wish to travel, exchange experience with foreign colleagues, or go to live abroad. It will evidently be possible in the near future to eliminate numerous problems connected with the tedious processing of documents brought about by numerous regulations. The draft law is in keeping with our country's international obligations, with international treaties on human rights, and with the spirit of the pan-European process. It is also important from the viewpoint of the country's internal interests, because it represents a genuine contribution to the building of the law-governed state.

The opportunity for entry to and exit from the country is granted to all citizens of the USSR irrespective of their nationality or invitation from their relatives abroad. There are, of course, also restrictions which exist in a particular form in all states. But they are in full compliance with what is stipulated by international law. Citizens who possess a knowledge of certain state secrets are permitted to leave after the expiry of a certain period, which should not exceed 5 years. When taking up this kind of service a worker should be informed about the length of time in the course of which he will be forbidden to travel abroad.

The following factor is also important: If in the past an invitation from close relatives was required for permanent residence abroad of a USSR citizen, then confirmation that a particular country is prepared to take him is all that is required now.

The solution to the problem of so-called poor relatives is also important. In keeping with the draft, those who remain in their homeland no longer have the right of veto on the departure of their relatives. Only alimony obligations can be a hindrance for the exit, but even here the right to court appeal is stipulated.

Entry to the USSR by our fellow-countrymen permanently resident abroad who have not lost Soviet citizenship is also adjusted. They number around 150,000 people. They can be deprived of the right to entry only in exceptional cases stipulated by the law.

The draft law matches the level of international requirements. It is noteworthy in the fact that the accent has been shifted from the problem of emigration, which has already been practically resolved, to ensuring the freedom of travel. This is a very important moment for all Soviet citizens. The draft law can be called a considerable step toward the creation of an open society.

Progress at Supreme Soviet Session Assessed

PM2010145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

["Notes from USSR Supreme Soviet Session Plenary Sitting" by parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov: "Approved at First Reading"]

[Excerpts] The people's deputies have spent 9 days of our parliament's second session in joint sittings of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities. We have provided more or less detailed accounts of the content of this work in our reports, so today there is obviously no point in returning to the debate unfolding in connection with particular draft laws and resolutions. Let us say that the debate is becoming increasingly intense from sitting to sitting. This is understandable. There is still a very great deal to accomplish before the end of the session. Remember that there are 19 priority items on the agenda, and another 15 in the "other business" category.

Indeed, it is no accident that S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, has talked on two occasions this week about his worries at the delay in considering and adopting major decisions. [Passage omitted]

But although the session is at its half-way stage, most of the planned questions have not yet been examined. They include laws on pensions, on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution pertaining to the electoral system, on constitutional oversight, on the status of USSR people's deputies.... The "other business" category includes documents that are by no means secondary: laws on trade union rights, on youth and on state youth policy, on the press, and on the procedure for recalling people's deputies.

But one must not forget the most important thing: The deputies cannot go home without having approved the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1990 and the country's State Budget. But these have not been discussed this week. In the first place, circumstances made it necessary to hold an extra plenary sitting on 18 October, one that had not been envisaged in the standing orders at the start of the session. It examined the draft law on the general principles of self-management and local economic activity. So the sittings of committees and commissions planned for the morning had to be postponed—it was not until after lunch that they met.

Second, the limited time set aside for the analysis of proposals and amendments put forward by people's deputies in relation to the draft laws examined during the tense 3 days of debates this week also put back committees' and commissions' work on the plan and budget... indeed, the calendar shows the second half of October. And even if the plan and budget are approved before the end of the month, as envisaged by the session schedule, very little time indeed will remain for preparatory work on their implementation. We are all familiar with the fact that ministries and departments are not always efficient and enterprising, to put it mildly. This applies in particular to their supply components and services, which have only 2 months to put the material and technical base of all national economic sectors on an entirely new footing, in view of the reorientation of the plan toward more fully satisfying the people's social needs. Let us not forget that all this has to be done while compensating for the losses due to this year's labor and political conflicts.

Have the participants in the second Supreme Soviet session managed to achieve much in the 9 days of plenary sessions? In the past 3 days? Opinions on this are divided. Among the electorate and among deputies. Some reckon that the period has been particularly productive, that the deputies are on the verge of important decisions. Others believe that much more could have been done, that one has often heard proposals not directly connected with the topic under discussioon.

Certainly, the deputies have worked more vigorously, more purposefully, and more effectively than, say last week. Parliamentary experience is a great thing and each new day helps the deputies acquire it. But one inevitably recalls the repeated appeals from the chair along the following lines: "Esteemed Comrade Deputy, I beg you not to depart from the main topic. Please do not digress, keep to the point."

How many times did people's deputies talk about shortcomings in the organization of the session's work. Primarily about having been given many draft documents literally hours before the start of the discussion. This makes it hard to fully digest the draft law and formulate one's own proposals and amendments precisely.

Finally, in the previous issue of the newspaper we interrupted our reportage, giving no account of the final hours of the 18 October plenary sitting, which discussed the draft Law on the General Principles of Local Self-Management and Local Economic Activity in the USSR. Discussing the report of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, delivered by Chairman N.D. Pivovarov, the debate participants were unanimous that the adoption of the law is a matter of urgency. Local soviet elections are in the offing and their deputies absolutely must have at their disposal a legal act, approved by the country's parliament, that can be a real instrument of authority.

This was mentioned, in particular, by Deputy Ye.A. Gayer, who used the example of the life of small ethnic groups in the Far East to demonstrate that that it is central departments and not local soviets that are effectively in charge of this area at the moment. The problems of local self-management, People's Deputy Yu.N. Shcherbak noted, are not confined to economic aspects. The level of national cultural freedom in the territory is also extremely important, and this should be reflected in the draft law that is under discussion.

People's Deputy Ya.P. Lutsans believes that one cannot talk about local self-management until the question of union republics' and autonomous entities' exclusive right of ownership has been resolved. People's Deputy V.I. Prokushev talked about local soviets' ownership problems.

In the opinion of People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov, the draft law submitted for discussion is unrealistic without a solution of the problem of the correlation between soviet and party power, which is hampered, in his view, by Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. Deputy I.N. Dyakov did not agree. He said: Today the CPSU is the only political force in the country capable of heading the reorganization of society in accordance with socialist principles.

Ye.M. Primakov, who took the chair after the break, put the question of approval of the draft law on first reading to the vote. The proposal was passed by a majority. The draft law will be published for nationwide discussion in our paper and in the republican, kray, and oblast press. The Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management, in conjunction with the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission of the Soviet of the Union, and a number of other permanent organs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was instructed to modify the draft law in the light of the proposals and observations made during the discussion and to submit it for examination by our parliaments' chambers by 15 November.

...Until the end of the week the deputies will work in committees and commissions. The next plenary sitting is on Monday 23 October.

Supreme Soviet Acts To Limit Cooperative Prices

PM2010160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 First Edition pp 1-2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Ordering the Trading and Purchasing Activity of Cooperatives and Regulating Prices for Goods (Services) Sold by Cooperatives to the Population and to Organizations"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Having examined the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions statement and the proposal by a group of USSR people's deputies on closing certain types of cooperatives and regulating the prices of goods (services) sold by cooperatives to the population and to organizations, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. That the USSR Supreme Soviet's invariable line of developing the cooperative movement and creating stable independent management conditions, on a par with state enterprises, for all cooperatives operating in accordance with the law should be confirmed. Strict observance of legislation on cooperatives should be demanded of all state organs.

The exploitation of the difficult situation in the consumer market for speculative purposes or for the purpose of obtaining unwarranted income should be deemed contrary to the basic principles of cooperatives' activities. In order to eliminate the practice of overcharging for goods (services) and obtaining unwarranted income it should be deemed necessary to regulate certain types of cooperative activity.

2. In accordance with Article 3 of the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR," cooperatives are to be prohibited from carrying out trading and purchasing activities involving buying up industrial and food goods in the state retail and wholesale trade and consumer cooperatives network and reselling them. State retail trade enterprises and consumer cooperatives are prohibited from selling the aforementioned goods to cooperatives.

Cooperatives are to cease the aforementioned activities and complete transactions in accordance with the relevant contracts before 1 January 1990 or cancel them in the proper way, and also resolve the question of realigning or liquidating the cooperative. Local soviet executive committees are to give the cooperatives assistance if necessary.

3. Soviets are to be granted the right to set price (markup) limits for essential goods (services) produced and sold by cooperatives. The resulting information is to be supplied to the consumer. The list of aforementioned goods (services) and the maximum permitted prices and markups in relation to the corresponding state retail prices are determined in the manner laid down by union republic legislation, taking into account the prices of raw materials and supplies acquired by the cooperatives.

The price (markup) limits will not apply if, in accordance with legislation, the goods (services) are to be sold by cooperatives at prices that have been set centrally.

Cooperatives that are active in two or more oblasts or republics will sell their goods (services) at prices not exceeding the maximum permitted prices set by the soviet in the place where the goods (services) are being sold.

Cooperatives which acquire imported goods are expected to sell these goods to the population at prices which do not exceed the level of prices established for goods of this type by the competent state organs.

If a cooperative sells goods at prices above the said levels, it will have to pay the unjustifiably obtained income plus a fine into the local budget in accordance with Article 19 of the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR."

4. The control of prices (tariffs) applied by cooperatives is effected in accordance with existing legislation by state price control inspectorates (sectors) of the price fixing organs in collaboration with financial and banking organs at local level, workers' and people's control posts and groups, trade union organizations, and consumer societies.

5. The USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are instructed to adopt, as a matter of urgency, measures to ensure the rule of law in the activities of cooperatives and the protection of consumers' rights.

Prosecutor's office organs are instructed to protest acts issued by ministries, state committees and departments, executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies, state arbitration and people's control organs, and enterprises, institutions, and organizations which are in conflict with legislation on cooperatives.

It is necessary to resolutely cut short the illegal buying up by cooperatives of goods from trade outlets, the reselling of goods at higher prices, and cooperatives' other unlawful deals; and to ensure the consistent application of measures laid down by law to cooperatives and state and public organization officials who have committed such actions. In accordance with civil legislation, steps are to be taken to confiscate everything obtained through illegal deals and pay it into state revenue.

6. The USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to implement, within a period of 2 months, measures necessary to reinforce financial and banking control over the activity of cooperatives in the production and service spheres, and to step up tax inspections. The USSR Ministry of Finance and its organs at local level are instructed to ensure the efficient functioning of taxation services, keeping a check on all cooperative income, and ensuring that they pay their taxes in full.

7. The USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] are instructed to adopt measures to make it impossible to resell at excessive prices goods acquired by consumer cooperative system organizations and enterprises in the state wholesale and retail trade network.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Political & Social

66 Percent Rate Gorbachev 'Most Authoritative'

LD2110092289 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Despite the serious difficulties, which the Soviet Union is currently facing, the absolute majority of the population still links hopes for better life with Mikhail Gorbachev, according to a sociological survey held in the country on October 13-14. Its results are published today by the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (Arguments and Facts).

The survey, which was carried out by more authoritative specialists, covered some 2,500 people who represented a cross-section of society in terms of social position, place of residence, age, etc.

Sixty-six per cent of those polled consider Mikhail Gorbachev to be the country's most authoritative politician. The rating of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov is also very high.

The survey, conducted by the sociological survey centre of the CPSU Central Committee, showed that the share of positive assessments of Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Central Committee secretaries Vadim Medvedev and Aleksandr Yakovlev is higher among party members than on average in the sample. Party members are more critical of Boris Yeltsin compared with non-party members. Academician Andrey Sakharov turned out to enjoy most popularity among students.

The survey also disproved the long-held view that writers and scientists were most popular among USSR People's Deputies. Nearly half of the respondents did not have any definitive views about Historian Yuriy Afanasyev and Writer Yuriy Vlasov, while roughly a third could not say anything about economists Pavel Bunich and Aleksey Yemelyanov.

The newspaper writes that many readers disagreed with its recent publication regarding the popularity of politicians. This is why the result of this scientific survey, reflecting the picture of the present day, are published.

Details of Opinion Poll Provided

90un0118a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 42, 21-27 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by V. Boykov, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Public Opinion on the People's Deputies"; first three paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] Following publication of the article "Public Opinion on the People's Deputies" (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 40), letters began being received by the newspaper from people who disagree with the results of the poll and who are asking whether the judgment of 15,000 readers can be considered the public opinion of the country's population.

Without a doubt, the mail we receive from our readers is not representative; in other words, it does not correspond to a scientific sampling of respondents representing all layers of our society. Those desiring to do so write so that their position will be taken into account. Lack of objectivity in the poll comes as a result of the fact that not all our readers exercise their civic right to express an opinion.

On 13-14 October, the Center for Sociological Research of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee conducted a public opinion poll based on a scientific sampling. What were the results?

The poll involved the participation of 2461 individuals. The scientific method was used to determine the composition of its participants, which is seen as a microcosm of the country's working people, taking into account their distribution according to main branch of material or non-material production, numerical strength of socio-professional and demographic groups, and representation of residents of various territorial and economic zones (17 oblasts in Russia, Belorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, and Uzbekistan). The percentage of CPSU members and non-members among those surveyed corresponds to their representation among the employed population. One group of subjects polled was students.

Thus the premises for arriving at conclusions as to the opinions of the basic categories of Soviet people are well-founded but not exhaustive, since retired personnel and the inhabitants of many regions who doubtless have unconventional opinions concerning the deputies were not polled. This imposes certain limitations on the results presented here.

Must we provide a detailed accounting with regard to poll participants? Yes, for sociology is not astrology engaged in guessing the position of heavenly bodies. Scientific trustworthiness is important here—all the more so in political sociology, where errors can be especially painful.

An attempt was made in this poll to look at the USSR people's deputies not just from the point of view of their personal authority, but also in light of their collective activity as deputies. After all, in the final analysis their chief function consists in making legislation and providing a legal basis for perestroyka. This can only be accomplished collectively. Unfortunately, one aspect often disappears from view—the results of the work done by a congress or session are evaluated without consideration being given to the practical efforts of the deputies; and the actions of the deputies are evaluated not according to their contribution to the overall cause, but rather according to their particular position or ability to satisfy important—but local—interests.

Analysis of the data obtained suggests that our parliament is enjoying more and more success in its "training course" of harmonious and fruitful work. Its prestige is growing. The overwhelming opinion of the population is that the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been productive. We will be precise—49 percent of those polled expressed positive sentiments; 34 percent rendered skeptical or somewhat skeptical judgments; and 17 percent are currently undecided.

The specific sociopolitical situation in a region had a significant bearing on responses. For example, more than two-thirds of the respondents from Orlov and Saratov oblasts expressed positive opinions on the session—only 1 out of 20 gave entirely negative appraisals. In Moscow and Tbilisi the situation was different—a critical orientation predominated.

The majority of Soviet people have a sober view of the difficulties involved in resolving the socioeconomic and other problems facing the Supreme Soviet. They understand that these will not be solved in one fell swoop. All the same, the pessimism among the population is discouraging. Only about a third (31 percent) of those surveyed today believe that the deputies will be able now to master the course of our history through their joint efforts, that they will find solutions to bring the country out of its impasse. Half (52 percent) of the respondents view such a possibility with uncertainty.

Poll participants in Vilnyus, Donetsk, Orlov, and Saratov oblasts express somewhat more frequent optimism. Most people in Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Moscow, and Sverdlovsk are inclined towards distrust, one-and-a-half to two times the average for this sampling indicator across the country.

Before turning to the more detailed aspects of public opinion on the USSR people's deputies, I would like to call attention to the fact that the cost of their public appraisal is very high. Let us say someone is unpopular—the reaction can be to the effect that he is unworthy of the high office. Unfortunately, stereotypes categorical in nature have been formed in our consciousness. Frequently judgments concerning the deputies are based only on correspondence the population sends to the press, radio, and television. Of course letters to the editor can serve as an indicator of public opinion. Of course they reflect certain aspects of it. All the same, the views expressed in such letters are one-sided, as a rule, even if they are initiated by the editorship itself, conducting a correspondence poll by questionnaire. They do not entirely express the opinion even of the "readership," let alone of the population of the country.

The letters of readers, viewers, and listeners, for example, always express a positive or negative appraisal concerning the subject matter at hand. But what hits you immediately when you look at the sociological survey is the fact that people are very poorly informed regarding the practical work of the people's deputies and, as a result, there is a great response of the variety "I have no opinion." The mass of voters is completely uninformed as to what missions the deputies have taken upon themselves, what their role is in resolving fundamental issues. Over half the deputies, including some from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, prominent figures in science and the arts, were not evaluated by those polled. Particularly vague were USSR people's deputies not elected to the present parliament. For example, 49 percent of respondents were unable to say anything definite about the state activity of Yu.N. Afanasyev; of Yu.P. Vlasov—48 percent.

By the way, the survey dispels the impression that the most popular USSR people's deputies are writers and other representatives of creative professions. There is no argument about it—the rating of some of them is high. Nonetheless, a third or more of those who completed the questionnaire were unable, it seems, to evaluate famous scholars, authors, etc.—P.G. Bunich, A.M. Yemelyanov, Yu.F. Karyakin, R.A. Bykov, V.I. Belov, and others, for example.

Other party and state officials elected by USSR people's deputies are also not well known. The infrequency of their appearance in front of large audiences outside an official occasion is taken by people to be synonymous with an "armchair" work style.

Evaluations of the activity of many deputies show that the popular orientation towards them—like towards state figures—is constricted by the habit of evaluating them according to how instructions are carried out, how local issues are resolved through use of the deputy mandate. It is no coincidence that the reading of telegrams from local areas goes on and on during session speeches.

The survey shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that deputies capable of demonstrating a clearly innovative approach to their work are winning the good will of the voters. People are tired of the squabbling and discussion over vital issues—they want to see real progress and are completely fed up with bureaucratism. But this nervous tension sometimes pushes them toward embracing populism and turns them into prisoners of false rumor and conjecture.

The difficulties our country is presently going through cannot help but be reflected in the prestige of its leaders as well. Nonetheless, data from this survey show that 66 percent of those who responded to the questions posed expressed support for M.S. Gorbachev. The reliability of this view is confirmed by responses to an open question, i.e., when people themselves (without prompting from sociologists) wrote down the names of deputies who enjoy their favor, with whom they associate hopes for a better life. The rating of N.I. Ryzhkov was very high.

It is also of interest that among the CPSU members receiving above average evaluations were M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.A. Medvedyev, A.N. Yakovlev, as well as G.Kh. Popov, Ye.A. Yevtushenko, and certain other deputies. Party members were more critical in evaluating B.N. Yeltsin than were non-members. At the same time, students support him and A.D. Sakharov more than others.

The most critical appraisals of the deputies come from workers and students. Kolkhoz [collective farm] workers in the main attribute honesty to them. Voters did not evaluate the activity of their deputies in identical fashion. Thus, in Rostov, 47 percent were satisfied with deputy job performance; in Gorkiy—28 percent; in Novosibirsk—24 percent of those polled.

The evaluations that result from the survey are far from absolute. They are important only as an aid for concentrating attention and effort on the fundamental renewal of our society. With all the pluralism of opinion, this can be achieved only along paths that lead to a consensus of interests and of views that reflect these interests.

Ligachev Denies Being Gorbachev 'Rival'

LD2110105289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 21 oct (TASS)—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, whom some people see as a "Gorbachev rival" or as an alternative to him, has stated that he is neither one nor the other. "Mikhail Sergeyevich and I came into the Central Committee as people of like mind and we remain such," he declared in an extensive interview to the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly, published in today's issue.

Discussing what has and has not been achieved in the process of restructuring, Yegor Ligachev believes one of the biggest achievements is the involvement of millions of people by the party in the running of society and substantial staffing improvements. He also mentioned significantly increased rates of construction of housing, schools, and hospitals.

On the whole, of course, the changes are not as one would like, the Central Committee secretary pointed out. It has become obvious that perestroyka, he said, will take quite a long time—not 1 or 2 years, but considerably longer. "I realize that I am not making myself very popular by saying this, but it is a fact. It is better to be a realist," he said.

Turning to several proposals put forward within the country about how the economy was to be brought out of its difficult situation, Yegor Ligachev made the point that "one cannot modernize socialism or treat the painful areas of the economy by capitalist economic methods. When it is a matter of the real fundamentals, of course. If one has in mind elements that are acceptable to us, then, undoubtedly, one can, and must, take everything that is useful from foreign experience. There is much that is valuable and effective not only in the West, but in socialist countries too."

The Central Committee secretary does not agree with those who assert that private ownership and unemployment will not harm socialism.

"In my opinion, all this will lead in the final analysis to a deepening of the social stratification of society and to the undermining of political stability," he said.

Yegor Ligachev is the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee commission on issues of agrarian policy, and the interview devoted significant attention to this topic. Ligachev believes that it is necessary to count principally on large collective farms, for that is where the country's principal foodstuffs reserves come from. But this does not mean that small peasant farms do not need to be created as well. As far as collective and state farms are concerned, their perestroyka on the basis of cooperative principles and financial autonomy is needed here too.

Answering questions on the party's activities, Yegor Ligachev said that the most important thing now is the unity of its ranks.

"In a multiethnic state there must first and foremost be a one- party system—namely the system of the Communist Party."

As do all Politiburo members, he has a state dacha.

"My family does not have a personal dacha or a personal car. My salary, as that of other Politburo members, is R1,200. The royalties which I receive I give to party funds." he said.

Bakatin Cited on Yeltsin Affair

PM2010172989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

["Own information" report: "At USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] A regular briefing has been held on current questions of international policy, conducted by G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration. On this particular occasion Soviet and foreign correspondents were particularly interested in something other than international problems.

The fact of the matter is that V.V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister, gave a report as part of the briefing. With regard to the circulated statement concerning his information report at the USSR Supreme Soviet session 16 October this year, the minister said, in particular, that he had been criticized because he "did not have the moral right to contribute to the spread of rumors..." V.V. Bakatin said in this connection that during his speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet he had presented "only the official information provided by militia workers concerning the statement made by Yeltsin himself—in other words, he had read out what had been conveyed to the militia" by Yeltsin himself. V.V. Bakatin stressed that, under law, militia organs were obliged to investigate an official statement—albeit verbal—made by a deputy to the effect that an attempt had been made on his life, as indeed would be the case with any Soviet citizen.

The internal affairs minister categorically rejected attempts to ascribe to him the circulation of rumors designed to bring political persecution against a deputy. He said that the country's leadership and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet had been literally swamped with questions. As a result of the persistent rumors, which were continuing, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium invited me, the minister said, to its sitting and none other than the Presidium itself took the decision to convey this information to the deputies. As is well known, B.N. Yeltsin himself was involved in this Presidium sitting. Subsequently both the minister and the deputy freely gave information from the session rostrum, which was relayed on Central Television. (A full stenographic report of these statements was published in IZVESTIYA No 291).

In conclusion, the internal affairs minister answered questions by Soviet and foreign journalists.

Ryzhkov Chairs Debate on Economic Perestroyka

LD2010210989 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October TASS—Perestroyka processes in the national economy proceed on the whole with difficulty. This was noted by the USSR Supreme Soviet [as received] which discussed today the question of the country's social and economic development in the current year.

The rates of growth of the national income and industrial output from January through September of the current year dropped almost by 50 per cent as compared with the same period last year.

The Council of Ministers noted that the functioning of the fuel and energy, metallurgical and chemical-forestry complexes has been unsatisfactory. There was a sharp drop in the rates of growth of the industrial output in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, the Russian Federation, Lithuania.

There was a particularly acute discussion of the state of consumer market. Tension persists in the population's supply with food. Although the agricultural output this year was larger than last year, food products worth 3.7 billion roubles have not been put on the market this year.

Production and supply of non-food products is improving very slowly. Non-food products worth 5.6 billion roubles have not been put on sale in the USSR in the current year.

It was emphasized at the meeting again that one of the main causes of the aggravated situation in the consumer market is that monetary incomes of the population grow much faster than the output of goods.

The volume of industrial output over the period from January through September increased by 2.2 percent, while monetary incomes of the population went up by 12.2 percent.

The USSR Council of Ministers emphasized that sped-up construction remains a task of extreme importance. There has been a lag in the area. Six percent less housing was open to tenancy in January through September of this year as compared with the same period last year. Nine percent less facilities for polyclinics and 13 percent less facilities for hospitals have been completed.

The government also pointed to extreme irregularity in implementing the programme of putting production facilities into operation. There are indications that the programme for 1989 may not be completed. Over 80 percent of industrial facilities under construction should be put into operation in the last quarter of the year.

The Council of Ministers deemed it necessary strictly to repremand some officials from major drawbacks in their work.

The government outlined constructive measures for the invigoration of the economy and decisive improvement of labour and executive discipline at enterprises and in organisations of the national economy.

The meeting was presided over by Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Voronin, Ryzhkov Comment

LD2010234189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There was a session of the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow today, which examined the results of the country's social and economic development over the past 9 months.

[Begin recording] [S. Medvedev, identified by caption] There was tough talking at today's session and this is easily explained. As the main rapporteur Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said the country's economic situation remains complex. Nonetheless, as never before, there were many journalists in the auditorium today, evidence that the government has no intention of concealing its difficulties or of hushing up report-back figures. So then, to what they call first-hand information:

[Voronin] Structural changes connected to the social reorientation of the economy are being strengthened. The trend for more rapid growth in the production of items for consumption [predmety potrebleniya] is being consolidated—production of these has increased by five percent over the 9 months while production of the means of production has increased by a mere 1.3 percent. A 7.8 percent growth in the output of consumer goods [tovary narodnogo potrebleniya], as well as imports of these, has allowed a 9.9 percent increase in the volume of goods in circulation to be guaranteed. Only recently, this pace would have been not merely inadmissible for our economy but incomprehensible as well. It must, moreover, be said that the goods turnover grew more intesively in the third quarter. At the same time, it is not yet proving possible to overcome many negative processes that have appeared in the economy, while some of these are even becoming more aggravated. A reduction in the dynamism of the economy's development is under way. Gross national product for the past 9 months increased by a mere 3.6 percent compared to 5.7 percent last year. The growth rate for gross domestic product fell correspondingly from 4.7 percent last year to 2.4 percent this year. The main cause of this is the fall in rates in the material production sectors.

[Medvedev] Yes, the new economic management is still only getting off the ground. We have, if one can put it like that, "growth disease". It is, however, made more complex by a slackening of discipline. The old has been smashed but there's nothing new. There is a strengthening of group egotism, by which is meant the collectives of certain enterprises. Strikes too have dealt a serious blow to the economy. Yes, many of them were justified but statistics are statistics and the losses amount to R3 billion. In 6 months alone, each worker in industry did nothing at all for half a day on average. There were 100,000 people not at work in September. The situation on the consumer market continues to give rise to concern. We are experiencing an unprecedented growth in money incomes at the moment. It is 10 times, just think, 10 times, more than calculations in the plan. At the same time, there is a shortfall in goods for the 9-month period amounting to r15 billion. Many people are asking whether specific persons to blame for the errors have been named to date. Yes, they have and their punishments determined. After all, it was not so much strikes that were to blame for the build-up of hundreds of loaded railcars of industrial goods and foodstuffs in the capital and the Moscow area, as the Moscow City Soviet.

[Ryzhkov] We are asking that the entire leadership be told: either you get things in order or we'll be holding you accountable. We're not going to put up with Moscow any more. You should be setting an example for the whole country but you're setting an example in every other issue of PRAVDA and you've got involved in a set-to with the newspaper instead of, perhaps, turning to the newspaper, to the press, to uplift the people somehow and solve these problems. And you've started playing with figures [arifmetiky vesti]—we've got 400 railcars and what's hanging around 50 kms away is not ours, it's yours, all of it. [as heard]

[Medvedev] The government is consciously toughening its demands on people for the task at hand but also pointing out ways out of the complex situation, most importantly, by means of changes in the structure of economic management and the principles of leadership. Specific radical measures were also put forward today, for instance, limiting the size of bonuses within the economy to six salaries. At the moment, they can be more than 90. Or introducing a normative minimal payment to the budget for enterprises which pay nothing. The search is on. Work is in process. The luxury of error in its decisions is not allowed the government at present. There are 72 days left to the end of the year. [end recording]

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Economy

LD2010213689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1850 GMT 20 Oct 89

["Topical Interview" with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov by Sergey Medvedev at the Council of Ministers on 20 October—recorded]

[Text] [Medvedev] Nikolay Ivanovich, among the causes mentioned at today's session of what you might call the gloomy economic situation was the group egoism of enterprises. [video shows Ryzhkov, Medvedev standing in lobby of Council of Ministers]

[Ryzhkov] My opinion is that along with the fact that economic reform has given enterprises very large powers, and those enterprises which made good use of them and take a really intelligent and competent approach to their activities on the basis of the laws that have been passed, they are working rather well. We can see, however, that certain negative elements have also appeared in the work of enterprises and generally of branches of the national economy. These have begun to very seriously affect the development of the economy as a whole. This includes the term economic egoism. Well, what does it consist of? Instead of thinking of the development of the country as a whole, of how the people will live, what goods must be made for the people, and what products for industrial and technical uses, they are beginning to pursue only their own advantage. Sometimes, by using monopolistic rights, they increase their prices. Once prices go up, it means there is less commodity output. That is immediately felt on the market. Therefore, I think this is generally a process which was logically bound to happen.

[Medvedev] The enterprises have greater independence.

[Ryzhkov] Greater independence, and we have not removed the causes that provide the motive; monopolies, for instance. We need a law that will prohibit them from using their monopolistic rights. Such a law...

[Medvedev, interrupting] ...is being studied.

[Ryzhkov] It is being studied in the Council of Ministers. No such law exists. Therefore, the enterprises are exercising such a right. What they just do not understand is that they are punishing themselves. Ultimately, everything is interconnected in the national economy. He violates it here, so his neighbor suffers, and his neighbor affects him; in the end it is the entire national economy that suffers. I think we will find approaches here; we will find them. I think they were right to say today that we must do it by economic methods.

Today we are evidently at a transitional stage where, evidently, noneconomic methods, as we say scientifically, are required; that is to say some sort of administrative methods, that is, which must be applied.

[Medvedev] A number of these have already been mentioned here, incidentally. incomes in our country are rising at an unprecedented rate.

[Ryzhkov] Yes.

[Medvedev] We have never seen anything like it, people said here: 66 billion, properly speaking. The plan is 60 billion, virtually tenfold what we have [as heard]. Some measures were proposed here, such as limiting the size of bonuses to six monthly salaries, setting a constant figure of 30 percent for the deduction payable to the state budget by enterprises, for example. Some enterprises pay nothing at all. What do you think of the suggestions?

[Ryzhkov] First of all, I think that our main misfortune in the country today, regarding the imbalance of both the consumer market and in the production sphere too, where there are also considerable mismatchings and disproportions, is the result of the fact that a truly undirected outward flow of money has been set in motion. For example, throughout the country as a whole the increase in incomes for the 9 months amounts to 12.2 percent, 12 percent!

[Medvedev] But there are no goods.

[Ryzhkov] As far as goods are concerned, we just cannot keep up with this, and in practice it is not possible to keep up with it. The money is there, but there are no goods. That is why I think that this is the main problem now, and it must be solved. We are not in favor of limiting incomes, we are not in favor of limiting wages: go ahead, let people earn money, but there must be output. Unless there is output, we will not solve our consumer (?deficit)...

[Medvedev, interrupting] One figure mentioned was that some people get 90 monthly salaries.

[Ryzhkov] Ninety-nine, as much as 99, we have data citing 99. Comrade Pavlov, the Minister of Finance, therefore proposed today a number of measures of a noneconomic nature, as he put it, restrictive measures that is. In my view, he is in principle framing the question correctly, because at this stage we must take not only economic measures but also, evidently, measures such as this, of an administrative nature.

[Medvedev] Are these measures temporary?

[Ryzhkov] Temporary, I think, until they start having an economic effect. What he said, of course, must still be weighed. I do not think we have to immediately adopt, today, the proposals he put forward. We will, I think, give instructions today, work on them for a week, say, and weigh them up painstakingly. We must... [changes thought] Decisions must not be taken sponteneously, either, because sometimes it seems a decision is the right one, and then some time later it turns out that we were in too much of a hurry, or we failed to foresee all the consequences it entailed. Therefore, I think, we will indeed make such decision.

Well, I can say, to move on ahead a little. I will put forward a conclusion today. I will put forward the following proposal. Salaries are rising very rapidly in institutes. Comrades said here that in the 9 months...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Scientific research institutes, you mean...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Yes, scientific research and planning institutes. Salaries are rising by 40 percent, for instance, in institutes as a whole. There are, however, some institutes where salaries have more than doubled over 9 months. This is, of course, an impermissible phenomenon, because it is hardly likely that an institute has started to work twice as well.

[Medvedev] That is the figure for 9 months?

[Ryzhkov] For 9 months. Quite simply, the most major violations are occurring. The imperfection in our economic mechanism is visible. They find certain loopholes, so to speak, and this excessive increase in wages slips through this.

I will today put forward for consideration by the Presidium, well, that it simply take a decision today that at least the State Construction Committee institutes, there are twelve institutes directly subordinate to the State Construction Committee, that the operation of the economic mechanism be suspended, the one on which they are working today.

[Medvedev] An extreme measure?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, that is an extreme measure. In 1987 we adopted that decision. I think that today we must suspend it. In the first place they must think for themselves: If they do not behave honestly, then let them work on the old system. There are other branches, institutes of the academy, institutes belonging to branches of industry, which are also beginning to do things in a similar way. If order is not established there, then after a certain amount of time we will make decisions there too. That is to say we see that the mechanism requires further work to be done on it.

[Medvedev] So, it needs to be adjusted?

[Ryzhkov] It needs to be adjusted; it has to be stopped today. I think that today we will stop it as regards the institutes of the State Construction Committee.

[Medvedev] A major issue was put forward for discussion today; housing construction. Practically all republics are falling behind in the construction of housing and facilities for social purposes. What have we come to? Today we have practically given to the republics the right to plan themselves what should be built, how much should be built. The result is that they themselves failed to plan anything and they are failing to carry anything out. What is the reason?

[Ryzhkov] I am very seriously worried by the situation regarding the construction of housing and other facilities for social, cultural, and everyday purposes. I recently had an opportunity to speak on television, and I said that one of the positive elements in the work of the economy over recent years is the fact that we have nevertheless turned it in the direction of social problems. First and foremost this is the construction of housing, kindergartens, and hospitals. The figures were given there today. There has been a fairly large growth. As far as housing, say, is concerned, we consider that by comparison with the previous 5-year plan period, the growth will be by 21 percent; for hospitals it will be by 40 percent. That is to say, this is a positive thing. We have become very seriously worried by the particular state of affairs this year. We used indeed to hold everything in our hands here, and accordingly, as they say, we controlled the construction of these facilities in a very tough way. Now we have handed it over in full to the union republics. From the viewpoint of whether we were right or wrong to do so, I believe we were right to do so because the republics have worked directly with the people, as they say; they do everything for the people. Why did the kind of situation arise in which it would seem they handed over the power to the republics and the building started going downhill? Today we have to sort it out. Perhaps the fact that there was a transitional period of some kind had an influence, but I think that the main thing was insufficient attention. Insufficient. Therefore, look, as far as housing is concerned 6 percent less was put into operation during the 9 months than was the case last year. What we have to do, on the contrary, is to move forward. I believe this discussion taking place today, a very serious discussion, will enable us to put the situation right and to create the conditions for next year that will exclude similar things in any event.

[Medvedev] A fairly tough discussion is taking place today. The names of those guilty of the various shortcomings and omissions have been given, measures of responsibility are being proposed, which go so far as removal from office. Of course the guilty have to be punished for shortcomings, but what do you think, will it improve the situation or not?

[Ryzhkov] Well, if the only thing done is just the removal of the head of the railway, that is hardly likely to rectify the transport situation. But I do not think we are going to let it pass unpunished any longer. We are going to get tough with people. I even have something to add. I do not know, unfortunately, Comrade Kotlyar, the minister of fisheries, is not with us, he is on vacation. Evidently we will be hearing the first deputy. Concerning what is going on there, the people have got to be punished. Well, let us take the fact that this year, in the first 9 months of this year, 700,000 tonnes of fish never reached the market. Seven hundred thousand!

[(Medvedev] A terrible figure.

[Ryzhkov] Of course it is a most enormous figure. At the same time, licenses for sale abroad have been issued for 400,000 tonnes. Do you understand?

[Medvedev] What sort of policy is that?

[Ryzhkov] What policy? It is no policy at all. Certain processes must be regulated, and regulated rather precisely.

[Medvedev] Nikolay Ivanovich, a last question. At present we are in a difficult economic situation. Everyone is following the reports in the press and on television and radio. Many voters, and many listeners and viewers, are getting a feeling and asking: Are we going in the right direction? Is this not the fault of this new economic mechanism that is now being introduced and strengthened? They do attribute it to that. Something new has appeared, and it is worse in the stores.

[Ryzhkov] Well, yes, there is indeed a lot of talk just now and the situation is fairly tense. It is a socially tense situation. On the one hand, as we have just been saying, goods exchange has increased 10 percent. We have never had such sales. That is so. At the same time, everywhere there are shortages of one kind or another, both of food and nonfood commodities. I believe the direction we have chosen is the right one. Of course, sometimes they nudge us and say we have to get back onto the old track, but that is the easiest thing to do, return to the old attitudes. We have seen that we were in an impasse. It is a blind alley. It leads nowhere. We now have to live through that period.

[Medvedev] Endure it, even.

[Ryzhkov] Endure it. We must go through this period behind us. We must work out a system that will really enable the country to develop normally in the future. I think our trouble, our mistake, is that we have not explained to people that this is a long process, a painful process...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Painful?

[ryzhkov] Painful, and it cannot be solved in 1 year. Today, in my view, we are living in the hardest years. In time, we will work it off. So I am convinced that these directions are correct, they are correct. Therefore, it is correct that we must work it off. For us, there is much that is new. we were solving the question 3 years ago, and everything was clear to us. but when we got down to the practicalities, we see that there was a lot that had not been properly thought through. So our task is to solve these questions. In general I believe that we are on the right track. I believe that we can normalize the situation. We can.

[Medvedev] Thank you for the interview.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

LD2110115689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A sitting of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RFSRR] Supreme Soviet Presidium took place today. Under discussion were proposals for the agenda and the working procedure of the 11th session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. The Presidium basically approved the drafts of a law on changes and additions to the RSFSR Constitution, on the election of people's deputies of Russia and of local soviets, and an RSFSR Supreme Soviet decision on the procedure for giving effect to the RSFSR law on changes and additions to the RSFSR Constitution, and adopted a decision to submit them for consideration by the forthcoming session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The sitting was chaired by Comrade Vorotnikov.

TV Interviews Vorotnikov

LD2310031689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Interview with Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet Presidium, by Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Biryukov; date, place not given; from the "Political Rostrum" program—recorded]

[Text] [Biryukov] the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's Supreme Soviet will begin a session in a few days. therefore, my first question relates to the problems, the difficult problems, which the deputies will discuss at the session. I will ask the question somewhat concisely: In your opinion, are there grounds for optimism with regard to the situation of the RSFSR in the future, in the near future?

[Vorotnikov] I think that the problems our republic has are similar to the problems in the whole country. Some of them sound clearer and stronger, while others are perhaps less so. But there are problems, and they reflect the processes in Soviet society. Certainly our situation is not simple. The economic situation is complex, and I would say that in spite of the high level of politicization of our society, the high level of activity, a certain tension nevertheless exists in society. Of course, this is reflected in all spheres of life, in relations between people, and in production relationships.

So, of course, I could tell you about the different areas of our problems, about their details. But I would like to stress that under today's conditions we will not be able to overcome the problems in any simple or elementary way, you see. One still sometimes finds in individual speeches, publications, conversations, or interviews the idea that it is enough just to solve this one thing, and then the next day everything will be just fine. No, that will not happen. There are not any simple solutions. So, we have to implement the all-around aproach, which we have defined as the process of perestroyka in the economy.

[Biryukov] Suppose we use that currently rather fashionable phrase: priority problems. So, in the near future, there are housing problems, economic problems, the food program. What are the areas of greatest priority?

[Vorotnikov] Well, I would definitely say social problems; those are the priority problems. But, in order to implement these social problems, we have to create a basis, create the conditions, to ensure production such as would ensure a growth in food products, a growth in consumer goods, an improvement in their quality, a cut in losses, and so on. For that we have to create a basis. For that the general indices of the economy need to be positive. And as you know, presently our draft plan and budget are drawn up in such a way that we still have a gap. So, I think that our main efforts now must be aimed at raising the efficiency of public production, so that every enterprise, every industry, will work not just for itself, not just for the demands of a specific work force, which happens here.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has said in an interview that this group egoism—perhaps a not very popular definition—happens when a number of collectives try to find immediate solutions to problems in order to create conditions that are better for their own specific workers. But, they do not consider that other collectives are also involved in this process, and as a result, in the context of the state or republic, the process so to speak, does not improve, does not succeed. So we must now think, first of all, about removing the objective conditions which influence these negative trends. That is, we have to improve the economic reforms.

I, for example, am deeply convinced of this. This question was also brought up at the session. Secondly, we have to bring influence to bear on the moral situation. Every citizen of our republic, and naturally of our country, must feel responsible for the matter entrusted to him and make a contribution not only to his own production and that of the work force in which he works, but open up a wider framework. This is particularly necessary for democracy and glasnost.

So then, the last factor I feel—well, not the last—one of the important factors—bearing in mind that society is very tense, that at present every careless word, every phrase immediately gets a reaction in society, you know—and if—and we have to take account of this, and be very, very attentive, and to have a very balanced attitude toward all kinds of ideas—you understand, toward carelessly dropped words connected with the fact that they promote even greater tension in society—increasing demand for certain products and goods, so to speak, for the resolution of immediate tasks. So, on the whole, I think that your question may be answered like this: Of course we cannot not be optimistic, so to speak. The road ahead is clear and defined, and we have to continue along it. There should be no doubt which might force us to go back to initial positions of one kind or another or to review our principles, our ideas, and our concept of restructuring. I am convinced of this, that this must not be done under any circumstances. This would only lead us into a dead end.

[Biryukov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, well, you have correctly evaluated the situation as complex and requiring a very balanced approach, and of course, the role of the people's deputies is very great, whether at republican or at union level. Now the inhabitants of the RSFSR are discussing the draft law on elections with great interest. There are fundamental innovations there. How could you comment on this law in specific terms, and, what further important innovations may there be in the Russian legislature?

[Vorotnikov] Well, I have to say that the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Supreme Soviet commissions of the republic and the local soviet bodies, soviets of various levels—taking account of the recommendations of specialists and scientists—have sought to analyze, in great depth, so to speak, both the effective law on elections and the union constitution. We have also noted those views which are forming with regard to it among the public. We have analyzed the experience which we gained at the congress as a union and which we gained at the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. Well, we came to our conclusions and are putting forward certain recommendations. You know, soon the session will discuss them, and it is up to it to make the decisions, but, in the commissions on the legislative proposals of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium, ultimately they were defined in such a way as we have to have a Congress of People's Deputies.

The thing is that our republic is very large, very multiethnic, and we can not reduce the representation of deputies at the highest level of power. If we were to—and the Ukraine has already embarked upon just such a step—if we are to reduce representation and to elect a Supreme Soviet, and we can elect it within a framework of 300 people to ensure that it would be a real working Supreme Soviet, then the representation of deputies from autonomous formations and from the territories—especially from the autonomous formations—will be significantly reduced. We feel—and we have expounded this in the draft—that in this option—although with us the numbers of deputies will not increase by a great deal, let us say from 975 now to 1,068 in the proposals—but it will grow primarily on account of the national formations, on account of the autonomies.

[Biryukov] Well, and the idea of a two-chamber legislature with the same...

[Vorotnikov, interrupting] Just the same. Just the same. Without a doubt, we must without fail take into account the interethnic aspect which now exists in society. So, a two-chamber system is dictated by reality. We have 31 national formations in the republic, 31 autonomies. In addition, there are several peoples who do not have their own autonomy, and we have to think about perhaps setting them up. So of course, in defense of the interests of the national autonomies and in defense of the interests of the other nationalities and peoples who live in our country, it will have to be ensured by way of a structure such as a two-chamber system and by way of a chamber of nationalities.

We thought a great deal about this, and in the draft we departed from this provision, so that there should not be elections from social organizations. Although this idea is tempting, there is an opportunity, so to speak, for representation of various social strata of the population, we nevertheless think that taking account of the current public reaction to this process, namely that candidate deputies are placed in an unequal position, at the very start we laid down in the draft that elections should not be held within social organizations. At the same time, however, we consider it right to give social organizations the opportunity to nominate their candidate deputies, to enable them to compete in the system being enacted within territorial or national territorial constituency. The national territorial constituency has, incidentally, been formed precisely to emphasize the opportunity of greater representation for the various nationalities.

So, we put the constituency preelection meetings into the draft. True, we thought that generally speaking, these ought to be abolished, in principle, but one could perhaps establish some sort of limit, so to speak, so as not to put the voters in a position where there are 30 or 40 people on the list of candidates, and it is difficult to choose, opt for, and settle on someone. After discussion, however, after we had received a flood of letters asking that restrictions should not be introduced, we agreed with this. now we are submitting to the session a proposal that constituency preelections meetings should not be held.

There were also a number of other things. The opinion was expressed that we should hold elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets simultaneously. We think that is probably correct, because conducting two such major campaigns one after the other is a very complicated and, let me tell you, a very expensive business. That has to be taken into account, as well. We have received a whole series of other suggestions. We have in all received over 200,000 various suggestions and desires. The overwhelming majority of the people support our draft, but at the same time there are a number of criticisms and desires, some of which have been taken into account, and some of which are debatable and which will be examined and addressed at the session.

[Biryukov] You mentioned the high number of autonomous formations within the RSFSR. What is your attitude to the proposals coming from some autonomous formations regarding upgrading their status? In my view, a new package of problems is cropping up.

[Vorotnikov] Yes, you are right. This issue exists, and it is no simple one. In the first place, in principle, I consider—this is to a certain degree incorporated in the draft, I have already answered this question in part—that of course, we must enhance the legal status of the autonomous formations. This relates to the autonomous republics, it also relates to the autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs. And we must enhance not only their legal status, but also their economic opportunities and their opportunities for development of the social sphere, opportunities for the development of culture, traditions, the characteristics and special features of each people. That is indisputable. We have to do a considerable amount of work on this, and laws must be formulated on this not only in the context of the RSFSR, you know, that is the thing. They must be formulated in the context of the union as a whole, because there are not just a few autonomous formations in other union republics. And everything must of course be very attentively evaluated—how we should proceed along this path, how we should take account of all these specific characteristics and traditions, so to speak. there are many autonomous formations which have grown together and fused, so to speak, with territorial and regional formations in the legal, political, economic and social spheres, and we should not break up, so to speak, a living organism, you see.

This issue does indeed exist, and I think that this problem is so complex that there is no revolutionary path, in my view; the path must be an evolutionary one.

[Biryukov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, it is clear from the number of problems the deputies will discuss at the session and from the quality of these problems that the session will be an energetic and interesting one. How are we going to show it to people? Does it not seem to you that Russia is such a huge republic that it could have more of its own mass media?

[Vorotnikov] You have touched upon a very sore topic, a topic meriting special discussion, so to speak. I must say that we are committed to showing the work of the session.

How we shall succeed in achieving this, to what extent it will be shown... [changes thought] nevertheless I think that it must be shown, on television, on radio and there must be the relevant publications with the speeches, the atmosphere in which the session is held. But in principle I consider—and I have put this question officially to the government, to the Supreme Soviet and to the party Central Committee—that we need to solve a whole series of questions connected with extending Russia's sovereign rights.

I have already spoken about this in some of my interviews, and I can repeat...

[Biryukov, interrupting] You mean at the level of all structures, party, organizational?

[Vorotnikov] Certainly, certainly. At the level of all structures. Political structures, social structures, administrative structures, and especially as far as the mass media are concerned. We must give the screen the chance to show extensively the life of our peoples. You know, we get the situation where some autonomous formations do not appear for years on the television screen, not for years. It is not enough that, let us say, they are seen by the population of one autonomous republic, or oblast—even then we do not have studios everywhere, you know, television studios which could put together their programs. But it is our right to appear on all union television, and we consider that perhaps a special channel should be set up where there would be a permanent program: Voice and Vision of Soviet Russia. I am speaking theoretically. And a radio program. We need extra newspapers, supplements to existing papers, magazines, social and political and art magazines. these supplements, I can say, have been worked out, they have been supported, and I think that in the near future the question will be discussed and solved, and we shall get this possibility.

[Biryukov] Often, in speaking of Russia, we recall its great size, its complexity, its diverse economy. in this connection I want to ask what you about the prospects of the RSFSR assuming financial autonomy?

[Vorotnikov] Well, briefly, I am positive. Positive. I consider that regional financial autonomy in all spheres, including territorial ones, is essential. But now we have to look, so to say, from the starting position from which we are going toward this norm. For to introduce financial autonomy from above is an impossible task; it only seems simple. I think that it is essential—and we have already spoken about this and are acting in this way—that it has to be introduced from below. Because now with all our processes we are trying to get them raised with initiative from below.

Bear in mind the fact that our republic is so varied; it has so many levels. You cannot compare, let us say, Magadan with Krasnodar. Or, you see, Chukotka with Sverdlovsk, so to say. Completely different models of financial autonomy have to be used there. So now we are doing this work very actively, and have brought scientists in, from the Siberian section and from the Far East section of the Academy of Sciences from Moscow, from Leningrad, specialists, and already they have worked out a number of specific models, and a number of autonomous republics have been examined by the government, including the Tatar Autonomous Republic, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Chelyabinsk Oblast. Kemerovo Oblast is engaged in active preparations. Obviously, we shall already be able to prepare a number of these regions of Russia so that from January 1 next year, 1990, they will start working according to complete financial autonomy.

[Biryukov] Sometimes, during my trips within the RSFSR and in other republics, talk naturally arises about financial autonomy of the interconnectedness of the republics and the oblast. It seems to me that it is greatly oversimplified sometimes, because it is all reduced to the formula: I will give to you and you to me. And if you do not give to me, I will not give to you. Does not all this need coordination at other levels?

[Vorotnikov] You are quite right. That is why I say that, let us say, we need to bring economic reform in line with the demands of the regional financial autonomy which we want to achieve. And, continuing your thought, let us take contract relations. It would seem that this form is the most democratic, the most objective, one which would make it possible not to pressurize enterprises in a sort of Procrustean bed, you see, but give them the chance to build free relations, on a basis of mutual advantage. But what actually happens?

It turns out that the enterprises which have some form of monopoly on the production of goods in short supply begin to dictate their conditions to the consumer. Thus, relations between the supplier and the consumer, relations between the producer and those providing transportation services, shall we say, in the sphere and a whole series of others, the fund of contacts must be adjusted to a great extent. We cannot go back to the old, that will not do, you understand. We cannot centralize in our state, and it is the same thing in Russia. We must delegate as many rights as possible downwards, you understand. The grassroots organs should be responsible, and they must be given legal norms. Unfortunately, so far we have been correctly criticized here, so to speak—both the government and its the same with the Supreme Soviet—for the fact that we have been late with laws, that we have not underpinned these working conditions with the necessary legal and economic basis. The sooner we adopt these laws, the sooner we shall also remove the limitations and the more we shall be able to monitor. We cannot create an enormous apparatus for financial control over the actions of enterprises, as is being suggested now. There would be an army of controllers. We have enough controllers as it is. I, for example, do not believe in this, incidentally. The producer must bear responsibility for quality, for quantity, for everything. It is he who is producing. That is how it is everywhere. But we place one, two, or three controllers over him, and we think that it will be better for this. No, it is a superfluous and useless expenditure of state money of which, unfortunately, we still do not have enough.

[Biryukov] When we speak of Russian problems, we inevitably, of course, have to recall the nonchernozem zone. We may outline it in various ways geographically; you know, it was considered in various ways at various periods. Nevertheless, this is ancient Russia with the difficult problems of its towns, its dying villages. what plans do you have with regard to the nonchernozem zone?

[Vorotnikov] You know, the nonchernozem zone is our pain and our hope. Perhaps not everyone likes the name nonchernozem zone, and perhaps I do not like it either, but it is the ancient Russian land from which the present Russia emerged, you understand. For this reason the circumstance that almost 30 years after the war no attention was being devoted to this enormous region of our republic was, of course, a serious error. The present program for developing the nonchernozem zone provides grounds for optimism, I think, and some positive factors are already appearing. You know, I do not remember exactly, but I think that of the 29 oblasts, 22 or 23 have in the past year no longer had an outflow of the rural population. This is very good news when the rural population was constantly decreasing. Why? because we have begun to build roads, we have begun to build more housing, you understand. Many villages have been revived. Gasification has come. This also makes living conditions easier.

You see, our attitude to the nonchernozem zone at a certain stage was the same as the attitude we had to the volga region or to Siberia, you understand. That is, we built big complexes. We would introduce ideas which were unacceptable. You know there are many oblasts like that, take Pskov Oblast, or take Novgorod Oblast. The fields are quite flat, you know. A more suitable system there would be one of small farmsteads, hamlets and other settlements which could serve this. But we took them away to central farmsteads, so to speak. I am saying we not because I directly participated in this. On the contrary. We tried...[changes thought] I worked in Kuybyshev Oblast and in Voronezh Oblast, and we did not destroy villages, despite instructions. We did not destroy them. But evidently there was this fashion, you know, a slogan which was thrown out at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. difficulties were created here objectively, and subjective factors came into play here. It is for this reason, I think, that volumes of production of agricultural output are now growing there, and that cadres are increasing—something which is particularly important for the nonchernozem zone, because wherever it has been possible to consolidate good cadres—be it a collective farm, be it a state farm, be it a rayon or an oblast—there are positive processes taking place.

[Biryukov] Vitaliy Ivanovich. You have mentioned towns which are dear to the Russian heart, and to the inhabitants of our whole country in general. These are world centers of culture—Pskov, Novgorod. In connection with this, the following question arises: What are the general prospects for preserving our national monuments? This is, after all, a very important aspect of the revival of culture, of our common culture, and of patriotic attachment to our towns and to that same chernozem zone. What measures will be adopted here?

[Vorotnikov] Dmitriy Dmitriyevich, you are indeed right to stress this aspect. I am personally not indifferent to this problem, visiting as I do many regions of Russia, virtually all of them. I never fail to pay due attention to the museums and historical and architectural sights. Today, of course, it is the cathedrals and churches and religious institutions which are of greatest importance in this regard to Russia. There is no disputing that. And here, of course, if one is objective about it, one must nevertheless see a certain number of advances, toward this problem, both in people's consciousness and as far as the political leadership and the government are concerned. But it is especially apparent on the part of the people, the population. The population, so to speak, is manifesting a great deal of interest in this matter. What we are doing is of course extremely little—extremely little. We have little capacity in regard to restoration, the level of skills is still low. Alongside the people who are endowed with the highest skills, as is corroborated by a whole series of architectural monuments which have been restored in the postwar period, we have people who operate on the principle of doing things as fast as possible, any old way. This matter, I think, requires very serious further work. our societies for preservation of architectural monuments and the cultural heritage need to step up their work. Public formations are now being set up, and they should be encouraged. The main thing, too, is that local organs of power and the central organs of powers should facilitate this, should regard matters relating to culture and to restoring monuments of the past and building on the foundation of this past the culture of the present and the future, as being at the center of attention. Indeed, man does not live by bread alone, particularly in our present conditions, in the conditions of glasnost and democracy, in the conditions of the social processes which are under way in society. This sort of belief, you understand, this sort of admiration of beauty, so to speak, this sort of interest in past culture and in its development and augmentation, will in my view influence the moral atmosphere in the country and in the republic.

When we targeted society's attention—you remember how it was —the main thing was to create material well-being. This is of course important, it is the principal, great task. But one should not forget moral education. There are currently very many deficiencies in our country in regard to matters of morality; and not only from the point of view of the attitude to the past, but also the attitude to our present. In films and advertising, and in a number of publications we sometimes fail to take account of this situation and of the nuances influencing young people in particular. One of the ways of communicating culture, therefore, is to fight to preserve our monuments.

[Biryukov] It is probably no accident that virtually any informal organization starts its activity, in the main, with this package of issues. What is your attitude, in general to the informal movements?

[Vorotnikov] This is no simple question, of course, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich. I think that on the whole—I do not know how sincere my words will sound, but I beg you to believe them—on the whole I regard these movements of the public in a positive light. They are very diverse, after all, very diverse, and many of them do useful work. Things must be run to ensure that the party committees, local soviets, and state organs should find points of contact with these organizations, should help them in their work, you understand, should discuss and dispute with them so that there should be a genuine dialogue. At the same time I must say that even if we take each of these organizations, so to say, separately—there are many more of them, they already amount to thousands—even in the framework of a single organization, different forces are at work. There are positive forces, there are forces, with tendencies, with a leftist bent. One could say, figuratively, that this ranges form anarchism to monarchism. You get all kinds of things. And you nevertheless have to work with one and with the other. You have to work on them.

Well, you do not always succeed. There is not enough time, so to say, and I think that the mass media has to be objective here. We cannot depart from our principled positions. We are a socialist state. We must reveal what is now customarily called pluralism—I believe there is a Russian word that could be used to mean that there must be different opinions. Otherwise, we cannot have a comparison, a choice, so to say, so that we do not put forward direct, blunt slogans and conduct political work only in conjunction with them.

But at the same time, we must see their essence. Are we not leading them, and are not these associations, societies, and formations going astray from socialism? Are they not dragging us backward toward capitalism? Are they not trying to create conditions for us to leap over, without paying attention to the stages of historical development, into some other sort of unknown formation. So my general conclusion is that we have to work.

[Biryukov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, my last question: I have just been on several trips around our union republics, and there people are saying that there are many plans to improve the situation of the Russian Federation. Would this be done at the expense of other republics in the framework of the union budget? Is there some power egoism at work here?

[Vorotnikov] You know, of course, it is both easy and difficult for me to answer that question. I think that all our republics must see and analyze the processes that have happened in the country since the October Revolution, since the Great Patriotic War, and what contribution to the development both of the country, and of the periphery has been made by the Russian people. We are not speaking now of the greater or lesser degrees with which someone made a contribution, but facts remain facts, that the main burden of course, lay at that time on the Russian Federation. For this reason now, when some of the relations between nationalities are starting to become strained when claims are being made against the Russian, or the Russian-speaking population, this is not just. This insults our people, our population. Not only the Russians, but other peoples too. Now we need to build our relations in such a way so as not to calculate who owes what to whom, and who needs to create some sort of priorities now, but we need to ensure a harmonious development of the whole of our country, including Russia. We are right, you know, to ask, and we are asking, the question, saying that we must also develop, and have more sovereign rights.

I told you about the news media, we consider that the political structures...[changes thought] there has been a decision of the Politburo; the plenum will determine what this political structure will be. We consider that public organizations should be set up, in particular the trades union and Komsomol. You know that a building ministry has already been set up and it is working, because before it was only the union ministries that built in the territory of Russia. And this was a pure confrontation. Now they have come within the framework of Russia.

We consider that science should come under the Russian framework. We consider that supply bodies should come under the russian framework. We consider even that where we have a Russia of many nationalities we should also have a state committee to deal with questions of relations between nationalities. Not only for contacts with union republics, but here at home we also have quite a few problems in this respect.

But the functions of Russia will nevertheless continue so that it will not divide but unite all the peoples. Every inhabitant of the RSFSR must understand this responsibility, this measure, you understand.

[Biryukov] Thank you for this interview.

RSFSR People's Fronts Hold Congress

LD2210175889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] A constituent congress of Russia's People's Fronts has been held in Yaroslavl. The United People's Front of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics]—a confederation of public and political organizations which unite the republic's democratic movements—was set up there. We have just received a report from Yaroslavl by our correspondent Yuriy Chernyak.

[Begin recording] [Chernyak] Heated and almost nonstop discussions, debates, and conflicts of most various opinions have been continuing for 2 days. I would like to say right away that it is no accident that the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR People's Fronts and of Russia's other democratic movements has assembled in the ancient town on the Volga. The Yaroslavl People's Front has gradually but quite confidently established its prestige not only among Yaroslavl's residents but also throughout the country. To tell the truth, its emergence was not simple, but painful. Sometimes passions ran too high. Step by step, however, party and local soviet workers and activists from informal organizations managed to find a common understanding of problems. A search for contacts, although not always successful is continuing, and some actions can already be put down to everyone's credit.

It was precisely the organizing committee of the Yaroslavl People's Front that originated the constituent congress. Delegates from 41 towns of Russia's various regions have assembled in Yaroslavl. Muscovites have the most representative delegation from various formations. I interviewed (Yevgeniy Yevgenyevich Dergunov) from the Moscow People's Patriotic Front. What, in your view is the main goal of the Congress?

[(Dergunov)] I think that it is very important for us that, following the situation when People's Fronts have established themselves and received recognition as political organizations or political movements in other republics—in the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Baltic, or in Georgia—it is very important for us that Russia also should have its public and political movement. The goal of the congress is perhaps, to somehow consolidate our public, political, democratic, and patriotic organizations so they may act as a united front. A united Russian front is required for that.

[Chernyak] One can feel that the work is progressing with difficulty because there too many different views.

[(Dergunov)] Yes, there have been many arguments and different opinions. First of all, a difference in approaches to the central point is becoming clear, the essence of approaches between our democrats and patriotic organizations—of course it is a relative name because democrats are patriots too and wish to do well for their native country—is different. Some people see Russia's future in division into separate, politically independent, state and national formations while others see a path of national federal reform, albeit a long and complex one, but one that preserves historical unity. The fact that we are in all a great power now, and perhaps we would like to remain a great power. For example, our People's Patriotic Front—I am speaking about the Moscow People's Patriotic Front in this instance—favors preserving the unity of both the RSFSR and the USSR. At the same time we have always maintained that Russians have always shown peace-making intentions, internationalism, and friendliness. Russia in fact, is an international federative formation. So we come out for this, for preserving the Russian nation's consolidation.

[Chernyak] It is impossible to sum up in two words the documents that were adopted at the Constituent Congress. One thing is clear: in their core both the charter and main provisions of the platform are aimed at defending the perestroyka and its more vigorous advance. [end recording]

PRAVDA Account of 20 Oct Presidium Meeting

PM2310082189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p1

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Sitting"]

[Text] A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 20 October in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The sitting discussed questions connected with continuing the work of the second USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Following a report by A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the sitting discussed the draft USSR law submitted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium commission "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the USSR on Questions of the Electoral System." The draft law will be submitted for discussion to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, delivered a report on the draft laws on the status of USSR people's deputies and on the procedure for recalling a USSR people's deputy, the draft regulations of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and draft proposals on the procedure for annually renewing the composition of the Supreme Soviet. The decision was made to submit these drafts for discussion to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The sitting discussed questions connected with renewing legislation in the sphere of interethnic relations. R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, delivered a report on progress in work to prepare draft laws on the free development and equal use of the languages of the USSR peoples and on the free ethnic development of USSR citizens living outside their national-state formations or with no such formation in the territory of the USSR, as well as a draft law on introducing amendments and additions to the USSR Law "On USSR Citizenship." It was decided to convey the prepared draft laws to the appropriate committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the standing commissions of its chambers for discussion.

The Presidium approved a draft provision on chairmen and Presidiums of local soviets of people's deputies, which was drawn up on the basis of proposals from the Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Councils of Ministers of the union republics.

Information presented by V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission, on the work done by commissions and committees on the draft plan and budget for 1990 was noted.

The Presidium approved a draft provision on an interim committee to deal with the fight against crime.

G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities standing Commission for National Policy and Interethnic Relations, gave information on the results of work done by the the deputies' commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO). Having studied the situation in this region from every angle, the commission had submitted a series of proposals to settle the present situation. During the discussion, proposals for a political settlement of the problem were worked out, and these were conveyed to the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet and to USSR people's deputies elected from the NKAO. These proposals will also subsequently be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting also discussed some other questions of state life.

Moscow Begins People's Deputy's Platform Meetings

LD1910105989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The People's Deputy's Platform has opened at the social and political center of the Moscow city party committee in Moscow. Meetings between Muscovites and USSR people's deputies and with deputies to republican and local soviets are among its plans. They will be devoted to topical social and political problems in the life of the countryside and the town.

Tsybukh, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Youth Affairs, and Deputies Bogdanov and Finogenov, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the first meeting. The state's attitude toward the young and their living conditions, and ways to enhance their public status were the issues on the minds of the audience that assembled in the social and political center.

Now such meetings will become a regular occasion. The People's Deputy's Platform will be held monthly, every third Tuesday at 1600.

Yazov, Lizichev Address Armed Forces Deputies

LD2010230989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the time the parliamentary committees and commissions were beginning the morning sessions, the people's deputies representing the Armed Forces congregated in the Central House of the Soviet Army. It was the first time they had met in this way to discuss matters of the state and development of the Armed Forces not from their departmental but from their state positions.

[Begin recording] [N.D. Tutov, USSR people's deputy, identified by caption] We have to solve the issues of consolidating our forces in order to reinforce our country's defense capabilities and of forming an overall view about the tactics of our deputies from the forces. We have worked out a number of proposals on the expenditure budget for 1990 and these matters will be dealt with. The Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate are doing a great deal at the moment to solve the problems that have arisen in the Army regarding social provisions for our servicemen.

[Yu.P. Sychev, USSR people's deputy, identified by caption] But we have now obtained the, let's say, long-awaited law on defense. I believe this will be a fundamental law for the Soviet Armed Forces and that for us in the services it is the second law, following the Constitution of the USSR. Therefore, I think the military deputies, the USSR people's deputies from the Armed Forces, must make the utmost effort to discuss this law with the voters, both servicemen and civilians. [end recording]

The time has come when here, too, the collective reason of the people's deputies is required in order to solve tasks of defense and to guarantee social provision [sotsialnaya zashchishchennost] for those in the forces with less expenditure, in common and therefore more effectively. To this end, a vocational group of deputies was organizationally set up at the conference. Army General Yazov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at a meeting of the group. [Video shows military dignitaries at the meeting, close-ups of those interviewed and Yazov at the rostrum. He was previously seen seated amidst the delegates] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 20 October carries a report on the meeting of People's deputies representing the Armed Forces which states that "a statement by Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, on the establishment of a group of deputies from the USSR Armed Forces was heard" at the meeting]

Transport Plane Crashes in Armenia; 17 Dead

LD2010171589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 20 Oct (TASS)—An IZVESTIYA correspondent reported today that disaster hit an Il-76 transport aircraft as it was approaching Leninakan (Soviet Armenia) on the night of 19 October. On board were the seven crew members, three trainees, and seven passengers, all of whom died. The Il-76 was delivering construction equipment for the disaster zone from Ulyanovsk. It hit a mountain and came down 18 kilometers from Leninakan Airport. A government commission has been set up to establish the circumstances of the air disaster.

Armenian Procurator Terms Azerbaijan Bill Illegal

NC2210103089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] Vladimir Nazaryan, procurator of the Armenian republic, has made a statement to KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN newspaper criticizing the sovereignty bill recently passed by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. Expert analysis shows the illegality of that bill, he said. The thesis concerning the self-determination of each people has been replaced by the thesis of the inalienable right of the Azerbaijani people to self-determination. To consider Nakhichevan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] as inseparable parts of Azerbaijan is tantamount to pronouncing an obituary on the internationally accepted right of people to free self-determination, he stated.

Continuing the criticism of the infamous bill, the republic's procurator said that he is optimistic about a solution of the NKAO problem. This optimism is based on the (?facts and particularities of the problem) and on sober and (?realistic) analysis, he concluded.

Armenian Commission Investigates Shooting Incident

NC2010100889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The members of the commission set up by the Armenian Supreme Soviet to investigate the tragic incident which took place in the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] on 10 October have been in Stepanakert for the last 3 days. The members of the commission include Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputies Ayk Kotanchyan, who is heading the commission, and Robert Kocharyan. Grigor Arutyunyan, first deputy health minister of the Armenian Republic, and Kin Palayan, head of a department at the Justice Ministry of the Armenian Republic, are also members of the commission.

Armenian Deputies Demand Independence

NC1810105989 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Report by Laura Baghdasaryan]

[Text] Although the Armenian Supreme Soviet had been scheduled to reconvene on 21 October, an extraordinary session was held on 16 [as heard] October at the People's request. Unlike the previous session, this one was not shown on television.

[Word indistinct] yesterday hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Freedom Square and heard an in-depth briefing by Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Ashot Manucharyan on the deliberations of the session. Manucharyan said that the bloody and unprecedented incident which took place in Stepanakert forced us to call the extraordinary session. Oleg Lobov, second secreatry of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report to the session on the [word indistinct] incident (?based on facts) presented by the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. A few deputies immediately refuted the information in Lobov's report, noting the blatant contradictions between the statement by NKAO Commandant Safronov and the initial statements by the servicemen. The deputies unanimously asserted that the fire brigade students were in the wrong and had no right to fire on peaceful citizens. Another attempt to distort and conceal the truth is being made, just as the barbaric and shameful incidents at Zvartnots [Yerevan airport] were concealed. Why have similar incidents taken place in Tiblisi, Fergana, Uzen, and Stepanakert? They took place because those responsible for the Zvartnots incidents have not yet been identified. To prevent further bloody surprises from being visited on the Armenians and the recurrence of these errors, the session decided to set up an Armenian Supreme Soviet commission which will immediately leave for Stepanakert to carry out an on-the-spot investigation [word indistinct] of the tragedy.

Dear compatriots, we would like to inform those who have not heard about what happened in Stepanakert on 10 October that on that day the students of the fire brigade technical school in the Russian city of Sverdlovsk, who were en route to Kirovabad from Shushi, opened fire with their automatic weapons and pistols on a gathering of Stepanakert residents without cause. More than 500 bullets were fired. Six persons were wounded and one of them, [name indistinct], a 39-year old worker and the father of four children, died. If the organizers of this bloody incident are identified then those responsible for the Zvartnots tragedy will also be known; after all, the two incidents did take place.

Robert Aleksanyan, first secretary of Gorisskiy Rayon, delivered a disturbing report to the session. He noted that the situation in the regions along the Armenian border is becoming more dangerous every day. Azeri bandit attacks are assuming a threatening nature. Twenty-one groups of brigands, armed with modern weapons, are operating. He proposed that concrete measures be taken to ensure the security of the people along the border.

During the session, a number of deputies, including Aleksan Kirakosyan, expressed the opinion that the political situation prevailing in the Soviet Union is pushing our people to the conclusion that Armenia has no other way out but to choose the path of independence and sovereignty. The central authorities themselves are pushing us into taking this path.

The session then endorsed the following decision: Considering the situation prevailing in the country and the blatant violation of the union treaty, the USSR Constitution, and international conventions signed by the Soviet Union on the part of ruling bodies and a number of tribunes, the session instructs the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to put forward proposals on reviewing the obligations of the Armenian people toward the Soviet Union during the 21 October session. If the union fails to fulfill its obligations toward us, then the Armenian people must review this union treaty.

The session also discussed the activities of the Armenian deputies at the USSR Supreme Soviet. As you already know from our broadcasts, the Armenian deputies staged a walkout to protest the USSR Supreme Soviet's indifference toward the blockade of Armenia and Artsakh [NKAO]. Despite this action, the Armenian deputies were not found to have been sufficiently active. It was pointed out that they were not active during the debates on vital issues concerning our people, cooperatives, [words indistinct], and other issues. The impression has been created that the Armenians are active only when the debate is centered on Artsakh and the blockade. The Armenian deputies were advised to be active during the debate on all problems. They were also instructed to call for an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the rally a statement was read to the effect that if the USSR Supreme Soviet again adopts half measures during the current session, then it would be more appropriate if that problem (?is not considered in its generality). It is known that the central government is intending to leave the NKAO within the Azerbaijan structure while granting autonomy to the oblast authorities to enable them to come under the jurisdiction of the central government.

The participants in the session expressed concern over the fate of Arkadiy Manucharov, who was elected deputy to the Armenian Supreme Soviet. However, the USSR Procuracy General is procrastinating in issuing the decree for his release. In this way human rights and electoral laws are again being trampled upon.

The Armenian people are awaiting with [word indistinct] optimism that the questions disturbing them will finally begiven a constitutional and just solution.

Armenian Deputies Meet in Moscow 20 Oct

NC2210122589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 22 Oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] According to an ARMENPRES report published on the front page of the paper, the regular meeting of the USSR people's deputies from Armenia took place in Moscow on 20 October under the chairmanship of Suren Arutyunyan, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The deputies exchanged views on the course of the debate on those draft laws which the USSR Council of Ministers has submitted to the present session. Grant Voskanyan, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, briefed the deputies about the 20 October meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, during which the results of the investigation of the parliamentary fact-finding commission on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast were discussed. The commission had put forward a series of proposals for the normalization of the existing situation.

Presidium Discussion of NKAO Reported

NC2210121589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 22 Oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] On its front page the paper publishes a TASS report on the 20 October meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Kremlin. Tarazevich, chairman of the Council of Nationalities permanent commission on nationalities policy and interethnic relations, briefed the meeting about the results of the parliamentary commission's investigation into the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. After a comprehensive study of the situation prevailing in that region, the commission had put forward a series of proposals for the normalization of the situation. During the Presidium's discussion, proposals were formulated for the political solution of the problem, which were then submitted to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and the USSR deputies elected from the NKAO. These proposals will also be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At its meeting the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet also discussed some other problems pertaining to state affairs.

Officer Describes NKAO Hostage Incident

PM2310090189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel I. Babanskiy by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Deryabin on board a helicopter traveling from Stepanakert to Kirovabad under the rubric "We Report the Details": "In the Grip of Emotions"; date not specified; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Yesterday KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published an explanation from Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Internal Troops, regarding an incident that occurred 10 October this year in Stepanakert. That evening, following warning shots, students from the Sverdlovsk Firefighting Technical College were forced to use their weapons in response to a mob's extremist onslaughts and rifle fire on a convoy. Six Armenian nationals were wounded, one of whom soon died.

The next day four internal troops officers came to the hospital in order to express profound regret at the incident and find out whether the victims needed any assistance. The servicemen's assistance was refused, and the officers were taken hostage. Colonel Ivan Vasilyevich Babanskiy was the last to be released.

Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Deryabin found himself next to Colonel I. Babanskiy on board a helicopter traveling from Stepanakert to Kirovabad.

[Babanskiy] I went to the hospital with military medics Colonel Nikolay Filippovich Shramko, Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Petrovich Koryanchuk, and Major Mikhail Viktorovich Yermakov. People had gathered by the hospital entrance. We went into the surgical ward reception area. We were blockaded in there.

"Was it you who gave the order to fire?"—angry questions rang out. Over and over again we answered patiently: No, it was not us, the retaliatory fire was obviously provoked, and the insults and threats directed at the internal troops are groundless, since the Sverdlovsk Firefighting Technical College is not part of the USSR MVD Internal Troops' structure.

But the mob grew in size before our eyes, we found ourselves surrounded, blows rained down, and one of us fell. We were finally taken into a hospital room. Medical personnel and the crowd demanded: Let's not release them until Major General V. Safonov, commandant of the special district, arrives. Our attempts to explain ourselves were fruitless. They finally decided to release three of us and hang onto me. The people around me were very aggressive, and I thought at some moments that I would not get out of the hospital alive—I thought I would be torn to pieces. The demand was made once again that the general be telephoned.

General Safonov finally responded. The telephone receiver was snatched out of my hand and they once again set out their demands to Vladislav Nikolayevich on the telephone. I heard a phrase to the effect that if the general did not meet the demands of the people massed in the hospital, medical personnel would not answer for the consequences. The fact that the incident in the hospital was videotaped by someone present also stuck in my mind. The following was said at the end of the conversation with General Safonov: If you do not need the colonel, we will take off our coveralls (they were referring to medical coveralls) and go home. Then a door which had previously been blocked opened silently and lads from the special troops entered the room. Fortunately for everyone, this time shooting and fresh casualties were avoided....

I was talking to my wife in Tashkent 2 days later over the telephone. She said: I heard that some people were taken hostage down there. But I answered that I had heard nothing about this incident on the "grapevine" at work.

Railways Conference, Situation Reported

LD2110220589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian at 1800 GMT on 21 October carries a 2.5-minute video report by correspondent Ye. Mironova.

At the beginning of the video report Ye. Mironova remarks that the railways are crowded with wagons on the approaches to Leningrad, Moscow, Volgograd, and many other cities. Today, she says, there was an all-union telephone conference at the USSR Ministry of Railways in which representatives of other ministries affected by the railways blockage took part. A clip is shown of the conference in which USSR Minister of Railways Konarev speaks of nine railway managers being questioned by the ministry's board. Two managers, he says, may be dismissed and the others were severely rebuked.

N.L. Patsev, USSR assistant procurator general, says in an interview that instructions have been given that investigations be carried out by seven territorial and transport procurators to discover whether sabotage or poor organization is to blame. He quotes an incident where a refrigerated train arrived at Lena station on the Eastern Siberian Railway carrying melons and eggs for a cooperative which does not exist. The cargo was returned to the sender, by which time the produce was virtually rotten. Criminal proceedings are being instituted.

Armenian Health Ministry Delegation Visits NKAO

NC2110145689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of employees from the Armenian Health Ministry, including oustanding medical experts of the republic, have left for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

The delegation met with their NKAO colleagues in the oblast's pathology center and discussed basic scientific issues.

Oleg [name indistinct], head of the NKAO special administration's committee party [word indistinct] socioeconomic affairs, opened the meeting.

Artashes Aznavuryan, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic minister of health, pointed out that the people's health services are unsatisfactory and that it is the Armenian doctors' civic duty to extend all kinds of practical assistance to the difficult but sincere activities of their Artsakhian [NKAO] colleagues. The republic will undertake to supply equipment and medicine to some of the organizations of the oblast and to train high-ranking cadres. He also pointed out that one of the major issues today is the social-moral revival of the oblast's residents. The Armenians [words indistinct] long for moral comfort.

The Artsakhian doctors spoke about their activities and problems. The prospects for cooperation between the Armenian and NKAO Health Ministry employees and their scientific relations was discussed.

Armenia Seeks Cooperation With Iran

NC2110140089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] The activities of the Foreign Ministry of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic have increased considerably during the past 2 years. During the Karabakh movement, when the mass media remained silent on (?realities), the ministry's employees, in various ways, dispatched precise reports on the incidents abroad and informed the world public of the movement's existence. Their reports were used by the USSR Foreign Ministry's information branch during the [word indistinct]. The ministry's employees played an important role during the difficult days after the earthquake, when the documents for thousands of foreigners had to be processed, and arrangements had to be made for victims to be sent abroad.

In view of the necessity to grant a state-legal nature to the ties with the diaspora, the ministry has decided to propose that Armenian diplomats should serve in Soviet embassies in countries with Armenian populations. These Armenian diplomats will directly carry out our ministry's activities and become Armenia's representatives in the countries concerned. The decision is currently being studied by the central leadership.

Our correspondent reports that Foreign Minister Anatoliy Mkrtchyan pointed out that Armenia should be represented in various [word indistinct] organizations. In particular, an Armenian representative is soon to be included in the UNESCO leadership.

The Foreign Ministry recently applied to the Iranian Embassy with proposals for cooperation. The Iranian Parliament is now studying a proposal for the construction of a bridge over the Araks river which would link Iran and Armenia with an highway. Also, cross-border trade between the two countries is also being studied. It is expected that the Armenian and Iranian foreign ministers will meet to discuss the further expansion of cooperation.

In answer to our correspondent's question on whether it would be possible to open press offices manned by journalists from Armenia in countries with Armenian populations, Anatoliy Mkrtchyan said that this is not only possible but necessary. The government should certainly be approached on this subject, he added. Armenian journalists can play a big role not only as far as the rapid and correct reporting of incidents is concerned but also in terms of creating a bridge linking the homeland and the diaspora.

Armenian KGB Head Interviewed

PM1810124389 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with V.G. Badamyants, candidate member of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) KGB, by ARMENPRESS correspondent T. Liloyan: "KGB in Light of Glasnost"—date, place of interview not specified; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The dynamic process of perestroyka and democratization has affected all aspects of the Soviet people's activity and all spheres of our society's life. It has made it possible to subject to extensive glasnost the work of many state institutions that until recently were a closed area so far as public opinion and the press were concerned. These institutions include the state security organs.

Today security officers are taking an active part in creating the foundations of a law-based state and are successfully resolving the complex tasks of expanding glasnost in their work and further strengthening links with working people and the public.

An ARMENPRESS correspondent asked V.G. Badamyants, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Armenian SSR KGB, to answer questions about certain aspects of the KGB organs' activity.

[Liloyan] Valeriy Georgiyevich, in the line of duty, you are up on all the main events in our republic's political, social, and economic life. How do you assess the prevailing situation?

[Badamyants] The situation in the republic, indeed, throughout the Transcaucasus, is very complex and is characterized primarily by great strain in relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations. They [as published] have developed into open enmity, with clashes that are continuing to this day and in a number of cases have led to tragic consequences. Alarm at this was voiced in the speeches of deputies and other participants in the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session, which, incidentally, was relayed on republican televison and is being covered by the mass media.

Everyone knows the reasons. Namely, the fact that the whole series of problems surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, which are stalemated primarily because of the sides' diametrically opposed positions, remains unsolved. The situation is exacerbated by the implacability of these positions, by the lack of constructive dialogue, including between leaders of the republics' informal organizations, and by the predominance of categorical demands and strong-arm pressure.

The arrival of over 200,000 refugees from Azerbaijan and the new wave of resettlements have again perturbed the republic's population and have exacerbated a mass of already unsolved problems. Suffice it to say that many of the new arrivals are city residents who have been forced to settle in rural rayons, half of them have no jobs or permanent housing, and they have serious problems with language and with children's study in schools. It is impossible to list everything.

The situation is exacerbated by the presence in the republic of over 500,000 people evacuated from the rayons hit by the earthquake. We have serious economic losses in industry and agriculture as a result of the loss of almost one-third of the republic's production potential in the disaster zone.

Numerous illegal actions on highways and railroads leading to Armenia are continuing. We have even been forced to use the term "blockade," which had certainly not been used in our country since the war. As a result of these irresponsible, provocative actions, reserves of basic material resources are drying up in the republic, restoration work in the disaster zone has been virtually suspended, the fulfillment of state orders by industrial enterprises is being wrecked, and there is a most severe crisis over gasoline and other types of fuel. Crime is increasing, including especially grave criminal offenses.

Great concern at the situation in our region was voiced in the report of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum devoted to the question of the party's nationalities policy in contemporary conditions. It was said with the utmost bluntness that we are faced with the need to adopt resolute measures, we cannot allow anarchy, still less bloodshed. We must do everything to create normal living conditions for people and to help them gain confidence in the future.

Those are some of the main features of the situation in the republic. Summing up what I have said, the situation can be described as extremely tense and explosive and as fraught with the gravest consequences.

[Liloyan] Of late in the republic, as throughout the country, the population has been showing great political activeness and various informal organizations are being set up and are having a marked influence on our sociopolitical life. What is your attitude toward their activity?

[Badamyants] The processes of democratization and glasnost in our country and the party's firm and consistent line of creating a law-based state have paved the way for various forms of self-expression, including national self-expression, among various strata of our society. Numerous informal groupings, organizations, "people's fronts," and so forth of which the overwhelming majority adopt a correct stance and do their utmost to promote perestroyka processes via their activity have begun to emerge on this basis. I include among such organizations in our republic, for instance, the "Armenian All-National Movement" and certain others, although I should make the proviso that I do not wholly agree with their activity and the demands they put forward.

On the other hand, there are organizations that base their activity on anticonstitutional methods of struggle pursuing narrow national and sometimes nationalist interests. I cannot agree with their activity either as a Communist or as chairman of the republic's KGB.

[Liloyan] A few days ago you took part in the work of the extraordinary Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session, at which you delivered a briefing on a rally held shortly before. What prompted your speech?

[Badamyants] First of all, I would say that I was instructed to speak in view of the request of a group of deputies. Why did I have to speak? I will dwell on this in more detail.

Something that has become widespread in the country, including our republic, is the rally form of activity, which for most informal organizations is often their only available means of communication with the masses. There is nothing reprehensible in this. Unfortunately, in some cases, certain newfound politicians use rallies for irresponsible and essentially antisocialist propaganda, for attacks on everything and everyone, for repudiation of everything positive in our life, for fostering the ideas of national isolation, and so forth. To hear such speakers, you cannot help forming the impression that our country's life and history are all bad and have contained and contain nothing positive.

What attacks on the party and the leadership of the country and the republic there have been over the last 1 ½ or 2 years! Some people accuse the Communist Party of all mortal sins and blame it for all failures and adversities. In this connection I regard it as my duty to recall that it is precisely the CPSU that was the initiator and organizer of all perestroyka processes in our country, including Armenia, and that it was only under the party's leadership and with its broadest participation that the process of the democratization of our society became possible. The party has embarked on this difficult road and will travel it to its end.

There is now a greater need than ever for the consolidation of all perestroyka forces, pluralism based on the principles of renewal rather than destruction, and unity of action by all social forces in the interests of perestroyka, the interests of socialism.

But what is happening in our republic? On 15 September there was a rally addressed by many activists of the Karabakh movement who are members of the "Armenian All-National Movement." Everyone knows that this organization is essentially positive and that its formation in the republic largely accords with the processes of democratization and glasnost taking place in the country. The very essence of the "movement" implies democratic, constitutional forms and methods of activity. So when the rally heard accusations that the CPSU is hatching some kind of mythical conspiracies against the Armenian people, threats against deputies, and calls not to let them out of the building where the session was being held unless they supported the demands put forward by the "Armenian All-National Movement," it became clear that these essentially provocative remarks had just one aim—to make deputies adopt only those decisions that the leaders of the "Armenian All-National Movement" deem correct. So then it was decided to make public at the session a most characteristic speech by A. Manucharyan at the rally, without any commentary, so deputies could themselves make an assessment of it.

[Liloyan] I have a few questions about the work of the department you head. How is the traditional "closed nature" of the KGB being combined with the processes of democratization and glasnost taking place in the country?

[Badamyants] I regard glasnost in the work of state security organs as absolutely necessary, so my attitude toward it is as positive as could be. Quite a lot of information about the activity of KGB organs has been published recently, aspects of our activity that the public at large formerly knew nothing about have been revealed, and this process will continue. It is certainly necessary, above all to the state security organs themselves. It is necessary for self-purification, for expanding links with working people and the public, and for removing many questions regarding our activity.

Of course, there are limits to glasnost. For perfectly understandable reasons, not all forms and methods of our work will be revealed, chiefly because to reveal these secrets would aid those against whom we are struggling.

[Liloyan] Much material about the repressions of the thirties and forties and early fifties is now being published and much work is under way to rehabilitate the victims of the Stalin personality cult. What is the Armenian SSR KGB doing in this direction? Will access to its archives be opened up?

[Badamyants] As you know, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the further study of materials connected with repressions in the period in question has been operating since September 1987. A similar commission was created in our republic in February of this year.

The present generation of security officers is well aware that without removing the "blank spots" in the country's annals and without scrupulously studying the entire legacy of the past—both heroic and tragic pages of our history—it is impossible to understand the true reasons that led to the deformations of socialism or to grasp the ways of radically transforming society and creating reliable guarantees of legality, democracy, and glasnost. So I am convinced that the restoration of justice is a sacred duty to those who were innocent victims during the years of the personality cult and to the memory of the victims of lawlessness whose lives were shattered by the mass arbitrariness. We cannot remain silent about this, for this may shake what is most valuable—people's faith in the socialist state.

The approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Additional Measures To Restore Justice Regarding the Victims of the Repressions That Took Place in the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties" was of great importance in this complex work.

Since many innocent victims were repressed on the basis of decisions by nonjudicial organs—"troykas," "special conferences," and "commissions"—that were an instrument of arbitrariness and lawlessness, the USSR KGB put forward a proposal that the decisions of these unconstitutional organs be rescinded by a single legislative act. An appropriate CPSU Central Committee resolution was adopted on this question in January 1989 and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 16 January 1989 on rescinding the extrajudicial decisions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties and rehabilitating the citizens repressed on the basis of them was published. However, it should be borne in mind that the operation of the decree does not extend to traitors to the motherland and members of goon squads during the Great Patriotic War, Nazi criminals, members of nationalist bandit formations and their accomplices, the personnel of law enforcement organs who engaged in falsification of criminal cases, and also persons who committed murders and other criminal offenses.

Around 450 criminal cases against people repressed by extrajudicial organs have recently been examined in Armenia and as a result over 800 people have undergone judicial and party rehabilitation. Much work lies ahead—the criminal cases against around 8,500 people have yet to be examined—and we are fully determined to carry it out in the shortest possible time.

By way of an example I will cite a few figures. Thus 1,342 staffers of the country's People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and Ministry of State Security were condemned to various penalties, some of them to the death penalty, for extremely blatant violations of socialist legality during the personality cult period. Along with Beria, Yezhov, Abakumov, and other criminals, there is Mugdusi, former Armenian people's commissar for internal affairs, Department Chief Kostikyan, and others who bear direct responsibility for the mass arbitrariness and repressions. Moreover, 2,370 personnel received party and administrative penalties. Today the republic's KGB contains not a single staffer implicated to even the slightest extent in the abuses during the period in question.

As for access to the archives of KGB organs, this question is still awaiting solution. I can say that many materials have been made public. However, in order to introduce total order and clarity in this question, there is a need for a special law on work with archives such as exists in many countries. I hope that we too will have such a law.

[Liloyan] As is well known, the USSR Supreme Soviet instructed state security organs to take part in the struggle against organized crime. How do matters stand on this front in our republic?

[Badamyants] Yes, this sector of work has been entrusted to us, although I should immediately make the proviso that the main responsibility and workload is borne by internal affairs organs. As for the Armenian SSR KGB, we have instituted several criminal cases on these categories of crimes and are carrying out an investigation. A number of arrests have been made. I cannot dwell in greater detail on this problem or report the details because the investigation is still under way. After the trial I will be able to answer all questions on this topic in more detail.

Armenians Assess Economic Loss From Blockade

*90US0093A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
30 Sep 89 p 1*

[Report from Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics: "A Chronicle of the Blockade Times"]

[Text]The amount of moral, material, economic, and political harm caused by the continuing blockade of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] by Azerbaijan will be difficult to compensate for.

Beginning on the night of 25 September the railroad "window" to our republic opened a little, but so far this phenomenon has not become a tendency: From 25 through 27 September only 1,940 cars have come from our neighbors, which is 48.2 percent of the technically established norm of 1340 cars a day. Moreover, as before there was no fuel in the cargoes that were received, and this paralyzes the process of unloading the cargo and delivering it to the specific consumers. Actually, the blockade has not been removed and there is no certainty that it will be removed in the near future.

All this places the republic national economy in a difficult position and our partners in other regions of the country and abroad are suffering. Practically all branches of the republic national economy are suffering losses and the blockade is being felt in the life sustenance of the population. The concrete economic harm in the main branches looks as follows.

TRANSPORTATION AND MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL SUPPLY

During the period from 1 through 24 September the republic failed to receive from the Azerbaijan SSR 28,100 truckloads of cargo less than the norm. In 27 days of September only 6,118 railroad cars came from the Norashen and Idzhevan junctions while the norm is 36,180, i.e. 16.9 only percent, and we failed to receive 1,352,700 tons of various cargoes. During this period only 699 cars arrived with petroleum products or 10.0 percent of the norm, and thus we failed to receive 284,400 tons, including from the Armnefteprom TPO [territorial production association]—45,800 tons of gasoline, 22,100 tons of diesel fuel, and 92,500 tons of fuel oil. From the Gossnab [State Administration for Material and Technical Supply]—30,000 cubic meters of timber materials, 200,000 tons of cement, and 25,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals. Appreciable harm was caused to automotive transportation as a result of the critical shortage of fuel, the losses amounting to 12 million rubles in income.

CONSTRUCTION

The course of construction of facilities in the disaster zone is in catastrophic condition.

Thus beginning 8 September Kirovakan failed to receive 4,800 carloads of various cargoes: construction materials, fuel, and equipment intended for building destroyed objects. In particular the Ukrstroy PSO [production construction association] failed to receive 1,400 carloads, and the Belkiprovakanstroy trust—300 carloads, and 3,100 carloads were not delivered to other organizations and also for life sustenance of the city.

The damage caused to Spitaksiy Rayon as a result of the interruption of deliveries of raw and processed materials amounted to 10 million rubles. It failed to receive 3,000 carloads of various materials. Especially inhuman was the failure to deliver small buildings and trailer cars for the population who are experiencing a great need for them, especially during the winter. The majority of the people (children, the elderly, women) are living in tents. The discharge of workers at their own request and their departure are becoming widespread.

With respect to the restoration and construction of Leninakan things are far from going as well as they could. The failure on the part of the Armulsibstroy PSO to fulfill the volumes of construction and installation work is explained by the lack of deliveries of raw material and construction materials, so that of the 26,000 tons of cement that was ordered and dispatched in the full amount they have received only 3,500 tons. They have also failed to receive timber materials, fiberglass, and prefabricated reinforced concrete elements.

The Rosgrazhdanstroy PSO has received only 20 percent of the cargo it received during the last period and the Mosspetsstroy PSO—30 percent. The Armstankostory PSO failed to receive 300 tons of metal, 10 carloads of timber materials, 5 carloads of fiberglass, 10 cubic meters of glass, and 1,200 square meters of panels of the "Sandwich" type.

On the whole there is a lack of money in the accounts of the construction organizations. Only wages are being paid in order to keep the people on the job and the workers are doing secondary work in which they have no interest. There are cases of discharging workers. The management personnel have mainly gone to their various homes.

There have been cases in which broken and plundered cars have arrived at the station and cases in which cement has been mixed with water.

Organizations of the Ministry of Construction for Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises working in the disaster zone have failed to perform about 6 million rubles' worth of construction and installation work during the past 3 months. They failed to receive 18,000 tons of cargo, mainly construction materials and fuel. The automotive base is not operating because of the fuel shortage.

INDUSTRY

The blockade is having a dual effect. In the first place it is doing damage to the production programs of the enterprises because they are not receiving raw and processed material resources. In the second place, because of the impossibility of shipping out the prepared products the enterprises of the republic are involuntarily violating their contractual commitments for deliveries, thus placing in a difficult position not only themselves (fines for failure to make deliveries, loss of their reputation as a reliable partner) but also thousands of enterprises and collectives in other regions of the country with which they are linked by agreements that have been concluded. Unfortunately, because of our neighbors and the indecisiveness and inconsistency of the government, the threads that hold these agreements together have turned out to be weak and there is no guarantee that they will be tied together again.

According to the most modest estimates, in the republic's industry as a whole during the period since the beginning of the blockade the losses of products as compared to the production programs of the enterprises have amounted to 150 million rubles, of which about 85 million rubles are from September, and during this same period the consumers have failed to receive 120 million rubles' worth of products (including from other regions of the country—50 million rubles' worth).

Because of the blockade the Luys Association has failed to receive 5.5 million rubles' worth of materials, and it has enough supplies left for only 5-6 days of work. In the warehouses they have accumulated 6.0 million rubles' worth of prepared products and the fine for failure to meet agreements amounted to 1.0 million rubles.

In the Armelektromash Association certain kinds of supplies have been exhausted, 3 million rubles' worth of prepared products have accumulated, and the consumers will not receive about 5 million rubles' worth of products before the end of the month.

In the Zakavkazkabel Association which actually has not been operating for 2 days, the undelivered goods amount to 13.4 million rubles, they have failed to receive 5 million rubles' worth of materials, and 2 million rubles' worth of products have accumulated in the warehouses.

The Yerevan plant for pure iron, the Masis footwear firm, the knitwear and glove factory, and milling and mixed feed enterprises are being threatened with being shut down, and the hosiery factory in Kamo and the Sovetashenskoye and Anush knitwear associations have already halted operation.

Because of the blockade enterprises of the Ministry of the Grain Products Industry have failed to receive 4,000 tons of rye, 2,000 tones of hard wheat, and 45,000 tons of regular wheat. There are still supplies of regular wheat (taking into account the state reserve which has not been touched) enough for a month, but then there is the problem of shipping them from one republic to another because of the lack of gasoline.

Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] enterprises in September failed to send to consumers outside the republic 20 million bottles of mineral water, 500 tons of cooking salt, 500,000 rubles' worth of wine materials to be bottled at plants in Moscow, Saratov, and Leningrad, and 50,000 hard currency rubles' worth of cognac for export.

As of today in warehouses of large enterprises of the republic Ministry of Light Industry (not counting enterprises of the disaster zone) they have accumulated a total of 28 million rubles' worth of products, as a result of which many consumers in the country are unable to get sewn items, knitwear, footwear, or hosiery items, including from the children's assortment. On the whole before the end of the month the ministry will have failed to deliver a total of 40 million rubles' worth of products and will have failed to produce 50 million rubles' worth.

According to data from an express investigation, the enterprises have accumulated considerable reserves of consumer goods in their warehouses which because of the blockade cannot reach the consumers either within the republic or outside it.

Thus there is no possibility of sending to consumers from other regions of the country 6,000 tape recorders, 24,000 speakers, 875 Desna washing machines with three cycles, 105,000 clocks, 265 clock radios, and a number of other goods for cultural-domestic and household use that are in short supply. In the system of the republic's Ministry of Light Industry 42 million rubles' worth of items are waiting to be shipped to other republics, in the Ministry of Local Industry—21 million rubles' worth, and the Armlesprom TPO—1 million rubles' worth.

And on the whole (as of 26 September) more than 85 million rubles' worth of various kinds of goods were ready to be shipped outside the republic, of which 10 million were produced by enterprises under union jurisdiction and 75 million produced by enterprises of republic ministries and departments. In the present situation it would be expedient to sell these goods inside the republic.

The consequences of the blockade are being felt fairly painfully today but they will be even more palpable at the end of the year. Even now many enterprises are going to the State Committee for Statistics with proposals to adjust the plans in the downward direction, shifting production to the fourth quarter. If these proposals are adopted the plan for the fourth quarter—taking into account the adjustments in July-August—will increase by approximately 5-6 percent, which will create considerable difficulties with its fulfillment. In addition to this, with such a difficult plan there is no guarantee of the proper quality of the items that are produced, as a result of which economic losses will increase sharply.

As concerns the fulfillment of the plans for the third quarter and for 9 months, they will be considerably overfulfilled. In industry as a whole the delivery plan for January-September (not counting the adjustments) will be underfulfilled by 4 percent, with a shortage in the delivery of products of 200 million rubles, and the volume of production of products will be 87-88 percent of last year's level.

THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

As a result of the blockade by Azerbaijan the course of agricultural work in the republic has deteriorated a great deal. Thus during the period from 20 August through 27 September, because of the lack of fuel and lubricants and transportation it was impossible to harvest grain crops on time on 1,500 hectares, corn—2,000 hectares, and vegetables—on 1,000 hectares; planted and natural grasses were not mowed on more than 6,000 hectares; they failed to prepare more than 14,000 tons of silage, 10,000 tons of grass meal, and so forth.

The harvesting and preparation of feeds, the planting of winter crops, and the turning over of the fallow have been delayed. No mineral fertilizers have been received and the winter crops were planted without them.

In the Northern Caucasus they were to have prepared 150,000 tons of straw and they prepared 90,000 tons, and because of the closing down of the railroads only 9,200 tons were shipped.

The procurement organizations do not ship the milk produced on the farms for a long time. Since not all farms of the republic are equipped with refrigeration facilities, the grad and quality of the milk drop, and losses have amounted to about 0.6 million rubles. As a result of spoilage of perishable products, especially vegetables and grapes, because of the same factors the losses have amounted to 0.7 million rubles.

The situation that has been created has a negative effect on the fulfillment of the plan for the procurement of agricultural products as well. Thus as of 25-26 September 1989 the plan for procurements of potatoes was fulfilled by 36.3 percent, vegetables—58.5, fruits 38.5, grapes—18.2 and grain crops—66.1 percent. During the period of the blockade the republic has failed to procure 30,000 tons of fruits, 32,000 tons of vegetables, and 26,000 tons of grapes.

The provision of the republic's population with agricultural products is unsatisfactory. Thus during this period the republic failed to receive from the union fund 5,000 tons of melons, 3,000 tons of oil, and 3,800 conventional cartons of canned milk. Recently we received 80 tons of potatoes which had been in storage for so long that they were completely spoiled and unfit for eating. All this caused a significant increase in prices on the markets.

The republic failed to deliver to the union supply 2,860 tons of fruits, 2,500 tons of grapes, and 3,600 tons of vegetables worth a total of 1.5 million rubles.

LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR THE POPULATION

As a result of the prolonged blockade of the highways and railroads from the Azerbaijan SSR more than 18 million rubles worth of food failed to reach the republic: including 8 million rubles worth of sugar and 1 million rubles worth of fish and fish products, and the remaining 8 million rubles were accounted for by canned products, meat, animal and vegetable oil, flour, coffee, matches, and so forth.

In addition to this, the shortage of fuel in the republic led to a disturbance of the functioning of the republic's life support system, above all the supply of food for the population.

Thus the retail trade network failed to receive a total of more than 20 million rubles' worth of such vitally important products as confectionery items—1.5 million rubles, pasta items—more than 0.6 million rubles, vegetable oil—1 million rubles, flour and groats—about 1 million rubles, and so forth.

Just in recent days 4000 tons of potatoes, 600 tons of cabbage, and 530 tons of onions have failed to make their way from the fields into the retail trade network.

The counters in the stores have become appreciably emptier, lines are forming for bread and cereal products, there is no rice or pasta items, matches or other goods for sale.

Thus the blockade continues and is affecting the vital activity of the republic, with all the consequences that ensue from that.

6 Oct Report on Rail Traffic Disruption

904H0009B Moscow GUDOK in Russian
6 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by GUDOK correspondent A. Rostovtsev datelined Karchivan, 5 October: "Bullet Holes"]

[Text] After a break of a month and a half, shots rang out again at the Armenian station of Karchivan of the Azerbaijan Railroad. This time an Azeri diesel engine en route as reserve from Mindzhevani to Dzhulfa was fired upon. In Armenia as well, forces of some kind are active which do not want the situation to stabilize. An operations and investigations team has now left for Karchivan.

Meanwhile, the trains sit in place. As of the morning of 5 October there were 171, of which 89 were for Armenia. Every day our country suffers losses going into the millions due to such disruptions.

Yesterday we had a conversation with G. Isayev, USSR people's deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. This is what he thinks about the situation which has emerged.

"The session of the Supreme Soviet set the deadline of 9 October for us to get the railroad moving. We will try to do this peacefully.

"At the same time, we hope that the Supreme Soviet will adopt a constitutional decision on Nagorno-Karabakh. M.S. Gorbachev was correct in saying that the causes of this state of affairs need to be found first. There are two of them: the problem of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and of the refugees. However, I am against the actions of the People's Front: The railroad cannot be brought to a halt. Nobody is giving them the right to shut down traffic. It needs to be restored immediately. Incidentally, this will help the USSR Supreme Soviet resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue objectively."

...The bullet holes on the diesel engine may turn out to be very deep. They are a warning. Let us finally take a realistic view of the situation.

As Deputy Minister [of Railways] L. Pingarev, who is currently in Baku, announced, a preliminary agreement of the Azerbaijan People's Front to let the trains to Armenia through had already been secured. However, after the train was fired on, representatives of the People's Front returned to their previous position. Talks are in progress. Subsequently I had a talk with a member of the Board of the People's Front of Azerbaijan responsible for transportation, E. Mamedov. He stated that the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet must make public the demand of the People's Front to consider the NKAO issues an internal affair of sovereign Azerbaijan. The USSR Supreme Soviet has a duty to endorse the decision of the session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on abolishing the Special Government Committee in Nagorno-Karabakh. The trains will not roll until this is done. Individual trains may be allowed through from time to time only at the request of the Government of Azerbaijan.

Food, Fuel Shortage Noted

904H0009C Moscow GUDOK in Russian
6 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by GUDOK correspondent S. Babayan datelined Yerevan, 5 October: "Fuel Is Running Out"]

[Text] By noon yesterday the depot and the Yerevan terminal began preparing for traffic through the contact points with the Azerbaijan Railroad. Two electric engines were urgently dispatched to Norashen as a reserve; engines were dispatched to two already formed trains at the Yerevan terminal. A loaded train moved to Norashen from the Masis station. It appeared that this was it, movement had begun, and the halted conveyer was being restored. Suddenly the "hold" signal came from the adjacent railroad for an unknown reason. Electric engines were sent back to the depot from Norashen as a rotating reserve. A loaded train had to be turned back to Masis from the Mkhchyan station. Everything ground to a halt again.

At the Yerevan station eight trains prepared to leave have been sitting still for 5 days now. The trains have been waiting for a green light at the Masis station as well, but in vain.

Yesterday Armenian TV reported on the situation which has emerged on the railroad. Ranking functionaries of the republic Council of Ministers and the heads of ministries and departments who spoke prevailed upon the people that there is no cause for panic when they discussed difficulties in providing foodstuffs and delivering fuel to the people. Some of the foodstuffs regularly arrive through Georgia, and fuel is delivered along the same route. However, at present there is little fuel in the republic, and this is the greatest concern.

The deputy chief of Leninakan station, N. Kazaryan, said: "Cars which are not unloaded have been parked at the station for several days. Clients, especially from rural rayons, ask for at least a little gasoline in order to take mixed feed to the farms. After all, the cattle are starving to death, and they have to slaughter poultry—there is nothing to feed the poultry as well."

For the second day now, two employees of the Beniamin State Farm in Akhuryanskiy Rayon have been in Leninakan. They are trying to arrange fuel for trucks because seed potatoes sent to their farm are spoiling at the station tracks.

A coercive measure applied to the population of an entire republic which has recently survived a tragedy continues to work.

Rostov Institute Appeals to Rail Workers

904H0009A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
6 Oct 89 p 1

["Appeal by the Students, Instructors, and Employees of the Rostov Institute of Railroad Engineers to All Graduates of the Institute and Correspondence Students Employed by the North Caucasian, Azerbaijan, and Transcaucasian Railroads and to All Employees of These Railroads"]

[Text] The multi-ethnic and thousands-strong collective of the RIIZht [Rostov Institute of Railroad Engineers] appeals to the graduates of our college, correspondence students, all employees—Azeris, Armenians, Georgians, Russians, and representatives of other nationalities, with an urgent request to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has emerged on the railroads in the south of our country.

Does it have to be said that railroad transportation is a common-use sector with heightened discipline requirements? Should you, our graduates and their co-workers, be reminded that our industry is justifiably considered to be the bloodstream of the national economy, the connecting link in a most complex system of interacting production facilities of a unified national economic complex?

Our position is quite definite: Any stoppage of the transportation conveyer is inadmissible! Strikes in transportation run counter to common sense and cannot be used as a means of resolving conflict situations of any kind.

Yes, at present perestroyka has given us the right to serve the interests of all peoples and to reinforce the guarantee of rights of every citizen regardless of ethnic affiliation. However, this does not at all mean that we can witness the evil in silence. Our life is prompting us to do otherwise. We should not only restore, but also reinforce order in transportation. It is time for all of us to grasp profoundly the measure of our responsibility for what is happening. After all, we cannot keep walking constantly on very thin ice. Likewise, it does not become us to consider the present from the standpoint of the past and make the pain of the past the only foundation for the future.

In appealing to the graduates of the RIIZht, to correspondence students, and all employees of the North Caucasian, Azerbaijan, and Transcaucasian Railroads, we, the RIIZhT personnel, ask them to do everything in order to put their shoulder to the heavy burden of perestroyka. We propose to eliminate strikes in railroad transportation from the arsenal of means used to secure the meeting of any demands, even quite well-grounded and legitimate ones.

We ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider the issue of eliminating strikes in railroad transportation as a means of resolving any conflict. We are convinced that this is in line with the aspirations and interests of any sober-minded Soviet man. We are convinced that together we will be able to overcome the difficulties in transportation which have emerged. Let us stand together!

The appeal has been adopted by a joint meeting of the learned council and the party committee of the RIIZhT and endorsed by the collective of the institute, numbering many thousands.

Yerevan Party Officials Review Restoration Work

NC2210104289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0200 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] A meeting of the chairmen of the party committees affiliated to rayon party committees of Yerevan and party committees empowered with rayon responsibilities was held under the auspices of the Yerevan bureau of the Armenian Communist Party and party supervision committee attached to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee [CPCC].

At the meeting, the progress of the assistance being provided to the earthquake-stricken cities and regions of the republic by Yerevan enterprises and organizations was discussed. Specifically, the participants discussed problems related to the provision of temporary dwellings for the homeless. It was indicated that Yerevan's party and soviet bodies, enterprises, and organizations have made considerable progress in preparing temporary dwellings for the earthquake-stricken population. The participants in the meeting noted the initiatives of the city and regional labor collectives in fulfilling the decisions of the Armenian CPCC and Armenian Council of Ministers.

However, taking into account the approaching winter and the disruptions in the schedule of [word indistinct] in the disaster zone because of the blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan, the pace of work in general cannot be (?regarded as satisfactory). The participants in the meeting pointed out that the rayon party committees of Yerevan must take all the necessary measures to speed up the preparation of temporary dwellings for the earthquake-stricken population. The party committees were instructed to introduce effective supervision of the course of the aforesaid work and demand severe accounting from the party organizations and leading communists who fail to carry out the prescribed plans.

Asatryan, member of the Armenian CPCC Bureau and first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee; and Oganyan, candidate member of the Armenian CPCC Bureau and chairman of the Party Control Committee attached to the Armenian CPCC, participated in the deliberations and addressed the meeting.

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Session Opens 20 Oct

LD2010173589 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Tashkent October 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Iskander Khisamov:

Uzbekistan's Supreme Soviet opened its session here on Friday to amend the republic's constitution and pass several long-awaited laws, including a law on elections to republican and local soviets and on language.

The session is described as the major political event of recent years in Uzbekistan, where some 20 million people live.

The bills are designed to boost the role of the republican and local legislatures. They will be given some of the functions previously delegated to central bodies of power.

The bill on elections bans discrimination against citizens on the grounds of origin, nationality, language, religion, or duration of residence.

It does not give public organisations the right to delegate deputies to the republican soviet, departing from the practice of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The bill on language was the most hotly debated bill during a nationwide discussion before the session.

Many Uzbek speakers, the leaders of the Birlik (Unity) informal organisation in particular, are dissatisfied with the proposed step-by-step granting of official status to the Uzbek language.

Speakers who prefer Russian or Tajik, meanwhile, think that the sections of the bill on their languages are vague. The bill says that these languages will be used "where possible" and "when necessary".

Workers held rallies at several large plants demanding to postpone parliamentary discussions of the bill, which they say infringes on the rights of non-Uzbek population. The InterSoyuz (Inter-Union), an informal organisation whose programme is based on the Communist Party's nationalities policy, advanced similar demands.

As the session opened today, the republican newspapers published a resolution by Uzbekistan's Communist Party Bureau expressing "serious concern with the fact that destabilising, extremist forces out of self-interest are building up tensions, trying to put different ethnic groups against each other and provoke mass turmoil. The number of ethnic conflicts in trade, services and medical institutions is growing."

The current session is being held in a tough time. However, it aims to promote perestroyka for the benefit of all people living in the republic.

It has not been announced when the session will end.

Agenda Outlined

LD2110124689 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] On 20 October, the 11th session of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation opened in Tashkent. The first meeting of the Supreme Soviet began at 1100. Members and candidate members of the Communist Party of the Uzbekistan Central Committee Bureau and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic took part in the meeting, which was opened by Gulamov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet heard the report of Deputy Dzhurayeva, chairman of the credentials commission on [words indistinct] deputies elected from [words indistinct] districts. The agenda and work order of the session was unanimously confirmed. The agenda covers the following questions:

1. Draft laws of the Uzbek SSR on introducing amendments and additions in the Uzbek SSR Constitution, elections of the Uzbek SSR people's deputies and elections of deputies of the local soviets of the people's deputies of the republic.

2. [word indistinct] the Uzbek SSR people's deputies elections and elections of deputies of the local soviets of the people's deputies of the republic.

3. Setting up a central elections commission for holding elections of the Uzbek SSR people's deputies.

4. Draft law of the Uzbek SSR on the state language of the Uzbek SSR.

5. Changes in the composition of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

6. Changes in the composition of some standing commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

7. Confirmation of the decrees of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Ibragimov, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet read a report on the Uzbek SSR draft laws on introducing amendments and additions to the Uzbek SSR Constitution and on elections of deputies of the local soviets of people's deputies of the republic.

Yusupov, chairman of the commission for interethnic relations and internationalist education of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, and leader of the preparatory group of deputies for drafting the Uzbek SSR draft law on the state language of the Uzbek SSR read a report on the language of the Uzbek SSR and on the draft law of the Uzbek SSR.

Deputy Khabibullayev addressed the meeting with a question about the necessity for maintaining (?security) in towns and residential places of the republic, and strengthening law and order. The Supreme Soviet set up a relevant commission to investigate the question and to make proposals for its implementation.

Participating in the work of the session was secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet and senior official [words indistinct].

The 11th session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet continues its work.

New Premier Appointed

LD2110144189 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Tashkent October 21 TASS—Mirakhmat Mirkasymov, 48, was appointed new chairman of the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic with a population of 20 million people.

The decision was taken at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic which ended today.

Mirkasymov is a mechanical engineer. He worked for a long time at one of the design bureaus of the USSR Electronics Ministry. In the past 16 years he held senior posts in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, was elected first secretary of the Almalyk City Party Committee, first secretary of the Khorezm Regional Committee, first secretary of the Tashkent Regional Party Committee.

Former chairman of the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan Gayrat Kadyrov was relieved of his duties in connection with transfer to another post.

Language Law Debated

LD2010223589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A session of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet started work in Tashkent today.

[Reporter Mukhtar Ganiyev, identified by screen caption] Let me start from the fact that for many years now the republic's deputies have gathered for their sessions here, in the hall of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. Those elected by the people of the republic do not have a building of their own for gatherings of this sort: A seemingly inconsequential fact, but one from which it is possible to assess the role and place of the local soviets in our lives.

I will pick out the main issues among those to be discussed by the deputies today and tomorrow. These are: to approve the law on introducing addenda to the Constitution of the republic, the law on elections of the people's deputies of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and deputies of local soviets and, one of the main issues, to adopt a law to confer upon Uzbek the status of state language.

The inhabitants of the republic have been discussing the draft of the law for almost 4 months. The first version led to keen debate and displeasure. A second version of the draft was worked out, taking into account the desires of all sections of the population and the nation. It is this that has been submitted for the deputies' approval. It must be said that the majority of the republic's population did support it, although there are informal organizations which, literally yesterday evening, organized a demonstration in the city calling for the law to be made more strict in favor of the Uzbek language. The Russian-speaking populace is now, of course, concerned. They are waiting to see what the law on language will be like when approved.

[V. Gratovskaya, doctor; identified by screen caption] The homeland of the Uzbeks is Uzbekistan; the Uzbek republic and the major part of the native population here, something around 80 percent, is Uzbek. And our republic is named after that nation. We believe that conferring the status of state language, language of the majority, upon Uzbek is legitimate, natural, and well founded.

[Ye. Marshalov, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, identified by screen caption] Well, you know, we can talk about this from different angles. The native population on one side, the Russian-speakers on the other. In may opinion, a law needs to be adopted, a law on a state language. However, I do think that there are some points in the draft law as it stands at the moment which contain an element of discrimination against all the others, those peoples of different language, who live within the territory of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. I think that certain amendments and adenda should be taken into account and adopted into the law as basic features.

[E. Yusupov, USSR people's deputy, identified by screen caption] There should be no searching for some kind of national narrow-mindedness here. It is a matter of what people think about the development of the national language in conditions of the democratization of our society and of restructuring.

[Ganiyev] Erkin Yusupovich, please tell me why it is precisely the informal organizations of the Uzbek rather than the Russian population that are in a ferment?

[Yusupov] No, I can not say that it is really only the Uzbek informal organizations that are in a ferment; so are the Russians in Tashkent. Bear in mind that the informal organization members [neformaly] do have certain national proposals. So what? We shall not be under their thumb, because we have no need of any extremist, short-sighted arguments of this kind. We are tackling the problems by taking all aspects of it into account, aspects which are, in the main, directed towards strengthening friendship between our peoples. This friendship is our great gain. The durability of our system in the future will depend on how we manage to solve this and we are therefore decided it as follows: We confer the status of state language upon Uzbek; Russian I define as the lingua franca of our whole country, which operates freely and without restriction in Uzbekistan, and at the same time, we are paying a great deal of attention to the languages of the other ethnic groups [words indistinct] and particularly of the native ethnic groups.

[Ganiyev] As you can see, there is a multitude of opinions and serious talking lies ahead. At the session tomorrow, the deputies are to approve these important laws for the republic.

Language, Other Laws Adopted

LD2110123489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Tashkent, 21 Oct (TASS)—A session of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, a Soviet republic in Central Asia, ended today. It adopted laws on changes and additions to the Uzbek Constitution, on elections of republican people's deputies and deputies of local soviets, and on the republican state language.

The new laws are geared to achieving a significant strengthening of the role of the local and republican bodies of self-government: They are being given many functions that are now performed by central union authorities. No restrictions are permitted on the franchise of Uzbek citizens based on origins, ethnic identity, language, attitude to religion, and period of residence in a particular locality.

No provision is made for the nomination of candidates to stand for deputy from public organizations. The period during which elected officials remain in the local soviet system was set at no more than two consecutive terms.

The republican constitution has been given an additional article declaring the Uzbek language to be the republican state language. The Uzbek language had this status following the formation of the republic in 1924, but it was deprived of this in the 1930's. This historical injustice perpetrated by the Stalinist leadership has been rectified. The same article provides for the free and equal use of the Russian language as the language of interethnic contact, and also of the other languages of the peoples of the USSR resident in Uzbekistan.

Session Concludes

LD2210104489 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Excerpts] On 21 October the 11th session of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation continued its work in Tashkent. [passage omitted]

Comrade Salimov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, delivered a speech at the session. Deputy Azimov, in accordance with the instructions of the (?auditing) commission for the draft law on the state language of the Uzbek SSR, delivered a speech. The Supreme Soviet adopted the Uzbek SSR law on the state language of the Uzbek SSR article by article.

Comrade Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke about the draft law on the state language of the Uzbek SSR [words indistinct]. The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on [word indistinct] the Uzbek SSR law on the state language of the Uzbek SSR. In connection with the adoption of this law, the Supreme Soviet amended Article 74 of the Constitution [word indistinct]

In connection with his transfer to another job, the Supreme Soviet relieved Kadyrov of his duty as chairman of the Council of Ministers and adopted a decision on appointing Mirkasymov as chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

The session introduced changes in the composition of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and in the composition of some of the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

Deputies heard a report on the confirmation of decrees of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium by Deputy Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Relevant laws and decisions were adopted. The question by Deputy Khabibullayev on maintaining order and taking (?urgent) measures to strengthen discipline and solidarity in towns and residential areas of the republic was answered by Deputy Atadzhanov, chairman of the commission for investigating the above mentioned question. Relevant decisions were adopted on this question. With this, the 11th session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation concluded its work. [passage omitted]

Further on Investigation Into Miner's Death

LD2210103589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] "The death of a miner"—this is the headline of a notice in the TRUD newspaper. It says that several days ago, in the entrance of one of the apartment buildings of Zverevo settlement, Rostov oblast, a dead person was discovered. It turned out that the man who had been killed was Aleksandr Sotnikov, a shaft sinker of the 60th Anniversary of the Leninist Komsomol mine and deputy chairman of the council of the labor collective. During the recent 10-day miner's strike—this was in July—he was deputy chairman of the strike committee and member of the miners' regional strike committee of the Donbass. This Sotnikov played a prominent part in the strike. His mysterious death has agitated both the collective of the mine and the inhabitants of the settlement. Investigations are now being conducted by officers of the main administration of criminal investigation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(Kalyukin), deputy procurator of Rostov oblast, has stated that it has been possible to establish that it is most likely that the murder took place not far from the apartment building where the corpse was discovered. On that day, (Kovalev), with whom Sotnikov worked, invited him and other friends to celebrate a wedding. Kovalev had recently got married. During the conversation at table, an argument broke out that turned into a fight, in which Sotnikov took part. Then all six went to their separate homes. Some caught buses and departed, but Sotnikov and (Knyazyv) left on foot. At Knyazyv's apartment building they said goodbye, and Sotnikov continued on his own. At 2315 he was found dead. The investigation is being pursued in several directions. Murder out of revenge, or as a result of the arguement with one of the people with whom Sotnikov met, or the actions of hooligans have not been excluded.

We will not rush to conclusions. The investigations are continuing. Yesterday in Zverevo settlement, the TRUD newspaper reports, the funeral of the man who died took place. Miners from Donbass, Karaganda, and other coal regions took part.

Bakatin Supervises Investigation

*LD2110224389 Moscow World Service in English
2100 GMT 21 Oct 89*

[Text] A leader of a regional miners' strike committee in south Russia has died a violent death. The body of Aleksandr Sotnikov has been discovered in the village of Zverevo, the Rostov region. The investigation is being personally supervised by the interior minister, Vadim Bakatin.

Donbass Post-Strike Atmosphere Reported

*PM1810105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by Viktor Andriyanov under the "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "Thoughts After the Strike"]

[Excerpts] Donbass—There are new faces everywhere in the Donbass. At rayon party committees [raykom], city soviets, trade union committees, and production associations. This was perhaps the first time in all the years of Soviet power, apart of course from the well known events of the thirties that such a striking mass change has occurred in the cadre corps. This change is the direct result of the July miners' strike.

It is interesting and important to assess the reasons for the mistrust, the resignations, and the promotions, and to acquaint oneself with those people who left their offices and those who replaced them and try to discern common trends. During these summer and fall months I traveled round the whole of the Donbass in search of an answer, tramped kilometers underground, crawled through tunnels on all fours, and listened attentively to the feverish breathing of plenums, sessions, and assemblies. [passage omitted].

Who Dictates Ultimatums

"I bear no grudges against the working people for the decisions they made in the square; on the contrary, I am grateful to them for the truth and their supreme exactingness... At the same time I believe that I worked honestly, conscientiously, and selflessly. I tried to use all my knowledge, skill, and experience for the good of the city's working people."

"It is on this basis that I believe that, in order to enhance the prestige of the municipal party organization and create a businesslike and creative atmosphere in every party organization and at labor collectives, it is inadvisable for me to remain in the post of first secretary... It will, of course, be hard for me. But I am a communist. I will remain so until the end. I must bear up and I will."

That was how Anatoliy Pavlovich Rudenko, first secretary of the Pervomaysk City Party Committee [Gorkom], ended his speech at the gorkom plenum. This plenum was unparalleled in Pervomaysk as was the atmosphere. Men from the strike committee—a coherent team in the front rows—trade union committee chairmen, and directors all sat in the same hall as party gorkom members. The speeches were relayed to the square bathed in the August heat.

The first secretary looked calm and smart as always but it was evident from the sidelines that this calm did not come easy. I did not ask what he was thinking about then, at the talks between the strike committee and the Moscow commission, when his name had first cropped up. On what grounds, it was said, are the bosses taking part in the talks? A lack of confidence was expressed in the secretary, the chairman of the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom], and the general director. No one removed them or relieved them of their posts, they just made for the doorway as though running the gauntlet. Maybe, these steps in the face of mocking, sympathetic, confused, and sideways glances sealed Rudenko's determination to retire altogether. To retire, however difficult it was to break with something that had been his life.

He was elected first secretary of the gorkom in December 1985. The cadres of perestroyka are a generation of party men like Rudenko in Pervomaysk, Poshtuk in Yenakiyevo, Onishchenko and Nikolskiy in Krasnyy Luch... Their careers were typical of the Donbass. The first entry in their labor book is as follows: fitter, breakage face worker, or shaft sinker... Then All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] or party work, often study at an extramural or evening institute, mining once again, party training—higher party school or Academy of Social Sciences... In short, of mining stock. Their relatives and friends as a rule also work in the mines. Rudenko's wife, for instance, is a hoist operator.

I will not hide the fact that it was heartwarming when strike committee chairmen and people who are by no means flatterers and toadies remembered their party secretaries with kind words in public. They remembered Anatoliy Vladimirovich Nikolskiy, a second secretary—he filled in while the first secretary headed for home, having interrupted his vacation. The people of Krasnyy Luch also remember Tolya Nikolskiy as an electrical fitter and Komsomol worker— one of the organizers of the remarkable "Podvig" patriotic club—and also as a miner—who, if not he, could find a common language with his comrades?! Or Vladimir Stepanovich Khilko in Antratsit—we met at his office on the 15th day of his secretary's vacation.

"There's still time," he said, brushing aside the issue of his spoilt vacation, "let's look into this with the city. Antratsit was on strike for 1 day. While supporting general demands, the 'Partizanskaya' Mine did not suspend mining at all. The strike showed the common nature of the defects in all the mining regions." Vladimir Stepanovich continued the thought that was troubling him. "Well, incompetent, inefficient, and irresponsible people came to power everywhere?!"

A typical grievance, let me tell you. And well-founded very often. No confidence was the charge leveled primarily at them, the party workers, soviet workers, and directors of mines and associations. Hence the bitter joke told by party workers in the localities: "We seemed to be in a skillet. Battered from above and baked from below."

In Yenakiyevo dozens of names found themselves on the "no confidence list": the leaders of the "Ordzhonikidzeugol" Association, the director of the Palace of Sport, the head of the gorispolkom Capital Construction Department, all the members of the municipal People's Control Committee... How competent are these decisions on the whole? Yenakiyevo's city prosecutor V. Kulakov was asked this question. He recalled a labor collective's right to express no confidence in the director or his deputy and reelect them. The demand for the reelection of a trade union committee, say, is also valid. But a trade union conference will decide. That is its prerogative. Incidentally, that is what happened in Pervomaysk. In an extremely expressive fashion the strike committee there evinced no confidence in Ye. Zaslavskiy, chairman of the trade union's territorial committee, who had orininally even been elected to this strike committee. But an extraordinary trade union conference once again elected Yevgeniy Semenovich chairman of the territorial committee. He won general respect by his consideration for people and his failure to compromise with demagogues.

Various draft regulations on strike committees, some going to extremes, are now being handed around. A teletyped cable from Karaganda to Voroshilovgrad was punched out: "We express concern at the decline in the intensity of the working class' struggle for their rights...."

I am interested to know how our Karaganda comrades picture this struggle. As a permanent strike? The "Regulations on the Workers' Committee of the Karaganda Coal Committee," which they sent claims that the "workers' committee represents the real power of the working class." It can "'call and suspend a strike' and express no confidence... in leading soviet, party, trade union, and economic bodies."

People everywhere in the Donbass are talking about the visitors who are besieging the mines. First, uninvited guests from "Rukh"—the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka—descend with nationalist pamphlets. Then emissaries from people's fronts called with instructions as to how to politicize demands, advising miners to act "more vigorously." The miners threw the visitors out while people at party committees and soviet executive committees asked the following question: How are they funding their jaunt round the country? To whom do they report back for their traveling allowances? When do they work and do they work at all? My interlocutors' disquiet directly echoes the concern voiced at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum and during M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with a group of workers and collective farmers who are members of the party's central elective organs. Emissaries who put forward anti-Soviet and antisocialist slogans on their wild rampage round the country and who call for strikes and the overthrow of our system were mentioned there with well-founded asperity.

On the eve of Miner's Day an inflammatory pamphlet appeared at the Zasyadko Mine office.

It was interesting to watch the miners' reaction. Some, who had been turned off to all manners of appeal by the vacuousness of visual agitation, disregarded them. Others, appraising the essence of the appeal, remarked that they had had enough of rallies, that work is necessary or else there would soon be nothing to share. A third group grinned, biding their time.

A month after the delirious July rallies when the coal faces had only just begun to come back to life, the inflammatory pamphlet provoked, at the very least, perplexity. Who should be the object of the miner's ire when he has "girded up his loins for a fight"? Who is this bureaucracy that "has recovered from the first shock wave"? And who are the adversaries? Maybe people at the mine's labor collective council know?

"We did not put out this appeal," shaft sinker V. Benzhega, chairman of the labor collective council, replied. "Ask Averyanov, he is a member of the municipal strike committee. Perhaps, it was written there."

Maybe, the party committee has information?

"Communists and veterans of war and labor are angry at these kinds of appeals," V. Volkov, party committee secretary, said. "They made a complaint to the party raykom."

Is that all? Of course, it is simpler to submit a petition than actually enter into keen dialogue, get involved in disputes, and uphold one's position. How strong are the hopes that we pin on a body that knows everything and judges everything! Or which will maybe make use of its power. Certainly, we also heard the following grievances: It is said that law enforcement bodies are inactive. Well, do you order a militiaman to be posted with a nightstick by every pamphlet? No, those times are past. A militiaman has enough to do under the law. But there is clearly a shortage of Bolshevist agitators or propagandists. Volkov is no longer on the party committee. He resigned of his own accord, as they say. He knows that even if the miners are not rancorous, they will not forget that even a strike was unable to force their secretary to cut short his vacation.

A quite rowdy group of approximately 3,000 people who did not look like miners at all assembled at the "Lokomotiv" Stadium 27 August. This was described as a rally dedicated to the memory of the dead miners. But people rapidly forgot about the miners. There was a torrent of attacks on socialism and nationalist slogans began to be heard. Some of them were included in the rally's resolution.

"This was not our rally," V. Tychinskiy, leader of a team of shaft sinkers at the Zasyadko Mine and chairman of the section's labor collective council, claimed. "People gathered there who wanted to earn political capital from miners' problems. We are not in tune with those people who rally people to the yellow and blue flag. We will not permit attacks on Lenin and on socialism," Vladimir Fedorovich concluded.

A rally took place in Shakhtersk with approximately the same scenario.

There the strike committee submitted "ultimatum demands" to the party gorkom. They demanded that the square by the House of the Soviets be named in memory of the events of 18 July (the day the strike began in the city) and a monument set up on this square to the dead miners. They also submitted a list of those people whom the strike committee ordered to be "relieved of their posts and have their labor records endorsed with the words 'loss of confidence.'" V. Petrovich, who had already been relieved of his post as first secretary of the party gorkom, was second on the list. He is a mining engineer and has transferred to work in his specialism at the "Shakhterskantratsit" Association, he knows his job. Let the man work. But no, they're straining to snap at his heels, with no sense of compassion, no sensitivity. V. Rozgon, who has just been elected first secretary of the party gorkom, was also on the list of ultimatums.

"If these demands are not fulfilled after a compulsory warning strike, a strike will be called after 10 days until our demands are met in full," that is how the strike committee's message ended. "Copies of the ultimatums have been sent to the party oblast committee, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, the CPSU Central Committee, and the USSR Council of Ministers."

Every unprejudiced person can see how out of proportion the ultimatum is with the demands being put forward. "The ultimatum has disorganized life in the city and given rise to concern among working people over fresh production breakdowns," that is how the participants in a conference of primary party organizations' secretaries, labor collective council and trade union committee chairmen, and workers from Shakhtersk assessed the strike committee's ostentatious statement. The city also supported them. The "Moskovskaya" Mine categorically opposed the strike. The labor collective councils from the "Postnikovskaya" Mine and the mine named for the 17th Party Congress refused to support it.

Who Should be Given a Vote of Confidence

Section 5 of the Lutugin Mine in Torez went on strike 10 April. Engineer A. Lyudko, acting section chief, was out front, as the saying goes. The party committee succeeded snuffing out the conflict. A strict reprimand was delivered to Aleksandr Sergeyevich for organizing the strike and kindling passions and his party card was endorsed. The gorkom bureau deemed this decision too lenient and expelled Lyudko from the party. Under this mode of operation, entire party organizations would have had to be been expelled in a week or two.

The logic of life brought the Communists into the masses rather than leading them against the masses.

The strike committee (labor collective council) at the "Aleksandrovskoye" Mining Directorate, Yenakiyevo, is headed by a worker, Viktor Vasilyevich Lipinskiy. He was once expelled from the party for criticism and for exposing bribery and corruption and was dismissed—for fictitious absenteeism —from his job. The journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN related this story 2 years ago. The communist miner regained his good name. But he had not even lost it in people's eyes.

How many people like that did the strike throughout the Donbass bring to the fore?

The strike found S. Polyakov, the young director of "Volynskaya" Mine, away on business. He dropped everything and, on his return to Torez, was on the square with his men until the end. The striking miners expressed no confidence in Zhitnikov, first secretary of the party gorkom. (Incidentally, a year earlier 148 of 599 delegates at the municipal report and election conference voted against Zhitnikov. One-fourth!). Six candidacies were proposed to the plenum. "Volynskaya" miners nominated a seventh—their director. So Sergey Vasilyevich Polyakov became gorkom secretary.

He is 36 years old and an engineer and an economist. People in Torez have not forgotten how Polyakov was once punished financially—he was not paid because he ordered coal for war invalids. He saved old people who were freezing to death by breaching a strict ministry order not to issue fuel "on the side."

I recalled this episode in Gorlovka, when flicking through the notes of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Shchebitchenko, first secretary of the Tsentralno-Gorodskiy Party Raykom.

A conscientious man could not fail to reappraise his entire life at this time. Shchebitchenko wrote his resignation: "I ask the rayon's Communists not to regard this as weakness. It is a matter of inner necessity. I thank Communists for their trust. That is the sole thing of value in my life."

Explaining the reasons for his step, he spoke at the plenum of his mental turmoil and inner contradictions. On the one hand, he could not condone the slowness and indecisiveness of the supreme echelons of power. On the other hand, he was dissatisfied with the results of work. And the realization that a cadre shake-up is needed and new people must be given a chance—they do exist within the raykom.

"In this situation I asked the rayon plenum to make the final decision," Aleksandr Aleksandrovich said. "I ask you to believe my sincerity. I am a soldier of the party and I will remain so in any capacity."

Some 49 of the plenum's 50 participants considered it inadvisable to relieve A. Shchebitchenko of his duties as first secretary and member of the party raykom bureau. There was one abstention.

The Donbass party secretaries approached people with open minds, visiting mine faces, heated rallies, the "Greens," voters' clubs, and "informals".... They took everything to heart. The pain of the coal miner who has sacrificed his health for the coal, the pain of the family languishing in a line for an apartment big enough to accommodate its many children, and the demand of the team that is convinced that the authorities are deceiving the miners and delaying the implementation of the agreements signed by the strike committees and the government commission. What will be the secretary's reply to these questions that are as sharp as chips of anthracite? Why was the minister silent for 2 months? Why are they failing to tackle the issue of prices? Why are they dragging their feet with regard to pensions? There is no one for Polyakov in Torez, Pakhomov in Gorlovka, or Onishchenko in Krasnyy Luch to pass the buck to. People expect them to provide the answers themselves.

"They are still burbling about transaction prices," Valeriy Georgiyevich Pakhomov spat out in anger when we met. "I could not stand it when ministerial officials next came along, and I said, that's enough of digging in your heels and disturbing the people. A protocol does exist, let's act on it. In full. In every respect. For it is not just the trust in us—the country's party—that is at stake.

There are new people everywhere in the Donbass... No, that is not quite accurate perhaps. The party corps has withstood the test of the strike. But it is only logical to have new people. Life goes on. The pulley wheels are turning at the mine headframe. Clouds float above them like light toy boats.

Speakers Address Ukrainian Party Plenum 18 Oct

LD2010105989 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A plenum of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee took place in Kiev today. It was attended by our correspondent Mykola Maryenko. He reports:

[Maryenko] Volodymyr Ivashko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine delivered a report. We'll broadcast excerpts from this report in our subsequent programs.

Here is what Ruzhitskiy, first secretary of the Cherkassy Party Obkom, said in his speech at the plenum:

[Begin Ruzhitskiy recording] I am convinced that after this plenum we shall see more clearly both the magnitude and direction of the work of ensuring the sovereignty of the Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet federation.

We should admit that quite a few distortions have taken place in this field. Recognizing the necessity of solving these problems which we inherited from the periods of the personality cult and stagnation, we should also note that they are somewhat artificially sharpened. Certain groups are trying to use it for their own political aims.

These days a lively discussion is proceeding in Cherkassy Oblast on the draft bill concerning languages in our republic. Public opinion supports the view that the Ukrainian language in our republic has to be granted the status of state language and the sphere of its application should be considerably broadened. But alongside it the Russian language should function as an equal language, as a language of interethnic unity.

Without waiting for the adoption of the languages law, we are already widening the teaching of Ukrainian in schools, institutes, and professional-technical colleges. The Ukrainian language is already used in the work of an overwhelming number of party committees. [end recording]

During a break I asked Oles Gonchar, member of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee and a well-known writer, in precisely which party organizations of the republic are lagging.

[Begin Gonchar recording] I reckon that in some places they have fallen behind a great deal. Here is an eloquent fact. In Donetsk, people worked hard to organize the only Ukrainian school in order to open it at the beginning of the current academic year. In the end, no building could be found for it. What a shame for the party obkom and its first secretary. We want to leave behind as soon as possible this Suslovite-Brezhnevite line of mixing languages and of eliminating the nationality policy. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Anatoliy Matviyenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, did not agree in his speech with everything expressed by Maria Orlyk. He said:

[Begin Matviyenko recording] We accept all criticisms addressed at this plenum to the Komsomol organization and shall draw all necessary conclusions. But I cannot agree with Maria Andreyevna's evaluation that the festival in Chernovtsy turned into an orgy of anti-Sovietism and nationalst propaganda. Not by far. Yes, some incidents to this effect did occur. But to evaluate the event in such a way is to insult the majority of those who worked honestly and who contributed a great deal to its organization and its success. [end recording]

Ivashko Addresses Plenum

LD2010120589 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Report on speech by Volodymyr Ivashko, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of the Ukraine, delivered at an 18 October Party Plenum in Kiev; recorded portions of Ivashko speech contained within quotation marks]

[Excerpt] "[passage omitted] A nationwide discussion of the draft bill on changes in and additions to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UkSSR] Constitution on electing people's deputies has passed in the republic. The UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has received over 230,000 observations concerning the draft. It also received seven alternative draft bills. All this testifies that a natural democratic process took place in Ukraine. Naturally, the fate of certain articles in these drafts will be decided at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet session. However, proceeding from the stand of party comittees, individual communists, and proposals from working people, it would be worthwhile to express the view of our plenum concerning the important points of the drafts.

"The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committe Politburo concluded that it would not be expedient to have a Congress of People's Deputies wihin the structure of highest state power in Ukraine. In our view, the republic's Supreme Soviet should be elected by all the electors. As to the deputies elected by public organizations, this article has gathered the most criticisms. Considering this, it is doubtful whether it should be defended. But if we are to ponder on introducing the post of president, we should keep in mind that it will mean departure from the collective method of management, which, as it were, would contradict the very concept of restructuring—possibly the widest democratization of social life. Whichever way, direct elections of chairman or president mean, in our view, the well-beaten path toward an excessive concentration of power in the hands of one person, and this, proceeding from our historic experience, cannot be permitted.

"Comrades, it is natural that democratic changes in the party should be reflected in the attitude to public organizations. What concerns the self-formed associations, including the Rukh, our principled position in this question is well known: We will cooperate with all forces which act on the basis of socialism, restructuring and friendship of peoples of the USSR. At the same time, we will resolutely expose those who do not accept socialist (?internationalism), who strive to discredit the Party and propagate separatism and national seclusion.

"And now, interethnic relations. There is no doubt that the problem of perfecting the Soviet federation is one of the most topical and acute problems of interethnic relations that we discussed at the September CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The harmonization and coordination of interests of the USSR and union republics are seen by us as the cardinal and cornerstone question. To solve it practically it will be necessary to arrive at an optimal corelation between the rights of union republics and the USSR."

"The CPSU platform, adopted at the plenum, envisages a radical broadening of rights of republican organs of power and management. This means that the sovereignty of union republics will be filled with genuine content. In connection with this, we will have to speed up the working-out of proposals concerning the form of representation in organs of the USSR and the adoption of all-union laws and decisions in relation to our republic. Naturally, the USSR Supreme Soviet will have the first say in these matters, as well as the republic's Council of Ministers and scientific establishments. Correspondingly, a question arises about the right to pose a question on abolishing an all-union law which transcends beyond the borderline of the union's mandate, and to protest and terminate the force of decisions and instructions of the all-union government on the republic's territory if they violate its constitutional rights.

"Thus, we should care for creating—I say creating, for it does not exist yet—a juridical mechanism for protecting the republic's interests and, in doing so, to elevate the prestige of its laws. We deem it necessary to stress that until now the republic's interests and, in doing so, to elevate the prestige of its laws. We deem it necessary to stress that until now the republic's legislative creativity has not distinguished itself by sufficient initiative.

"A republic's territorial supremacy is an organic sign of its genuine sovereignity. We share the point of view that it is not only not possible to change a republic's territory, as the current USSR Constitution stipulates, but also not to use it without its permission, as our republic once proposed [in 1922]. Such an order will assist in improving the running of a republic's national economy and in strengthening its economic sovereignity. It will permit it to use its natural resources more effectively and rationally, as well as to deploy productive forces and solve social, ecological, cultural and other problems."

[Announcer] Volodymyr Ivashko touched in his speech on some other questions of republican sovereignity.

"It is clear that the problem of improving the institute of citizenship has also become urgent. This institute is an inseparable attribute of statehood and sovereignity. It is necessary to review the method itself of granting Ukrainian citizenship. At present it amounts to a formality. Naturally, we need a law on republican citizenship which would (?strengthen) its ethical and moral aspects."

[Announcer] Further on, the speaker touched on yet another problem of the republic's life—linguistics.

"Step by step, by the common efforts of party and government organs, state and public organizations, the miscalculations in this sphere are being removed. Gradually, the sphere of active use of Ukrainian is being broadened. However, we should admit that the decisions of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee on these matters are, in a number of oblasts, fulfilled slowly. We cannot agree with such an attitude to this important cause. In a few days the UKSSR Supreme Soviet will examine the draft bill on languages in Ukraine. It will grant Ukrainian the status of state language. We believe that this step is justified."

Officials Appointed

LD2010124489 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] A Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held yesterday. Invited to the plenary meeting were leading workers of the republic and of the oblasts who are not members of the Central Committee—scientists, sociologists, cultural figures, party raykom secretaries of Kiev, and workers of the press, television, and radio.

The plenum dealt with the following agenda:

1. On convening the 28th congress of the Ukraine Communist Party [CP].

2. Tasks of the republic's party organizations concerning fulfillment of the decisions of the September 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

3. Organizational questions.

A report on questions 1 and 2 was delivered by Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukraine Commist Party Central Committee. Appropriate decisions were adopted on these questions.

The plenum elected Stanislav Ivanovich Gurenko as second secretary and member of the Politburo of the Ukraine CP Central Committee, and released him from the duties of candidate member and secretary of the Ukraine CP Central Committee.

The plenum elected Anatoliy Ivanovich Korniyenko, first secretary of the Kiev party gorkom, as member of the Politburo of the Ukraine CP Central Committee.

The plenum elected Leonid Markarovich Kravchuk as candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine CP Central Committee.

The plenum elected Grigoriy Ivanovich Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev party obkom, as candidate member of the Ukraine CP Central Committee.

The plenum released Gerasimov from the post of member of the Ukraine CP Central Committee Politburo at his request.

The plenum released Masik from the post of candidate member of the Ukraine CP Central Committee Politburo at his request.

The plenum confirmed Gurenko as chief of the Central Committee Department for Organizational Party and Cadre Work; Yelchenko as chief of the newly created Department for Interethnic Relations; and Kravchuk as chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department.

Slobodyanyuk, chief of the interethnic section of the State and Law Department of the CPSU Central Committee took part in the plenum's work.

PRAVDA Reports Plenum

PM2210192789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondents M. Odinets, I. Tikhomirov report: "On the Path of Renewal; Notes from the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kiev—As already reported, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum discussed questions connected with convening a regular congress of the republic's Communist Party and also tasks concerned with implementation of the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum decisions.

A great deal at this plenum was unusual: Members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, who usually closet themselves away before the start of any plenum in the presidium room, held animated conversations in the foyer this time; The main speaker and the majority of other speakers displayed a good knowledge of the Ukrainian language, which is something that has not been seen for a long time within the walls of this auditorium; finally, the fact that almost one-third of the Politburo are new faces. These are all important points, of course, but still only the outward signs of renewal. What is going on inside?

"Now, when we are moving toward the 28th CPSU Congress and also the Ukrainian Communist Party Congress," A. Vinnik, first secretary of the Donetsk Oblast party committee [obkom], said from the rostrum, "It seems exceptionally important to grasp what is happening in party organizations, sharply change the forms and methods of our work, and reject everything that fails to correspond to the dialectical approach."

This seemed to concern many other speakers too. Reference to the assessment made recently from this same tribune by M.S. Gorbachev had an appropriate ring to it, namely that we are beginning preparations for the congress at an extremely complex time—one could say, a critical time for restructuring—when tension in society is almost palpably thickening. Consequently, V. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said in his report, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo feels that the period of preparation for the congress must be a real turning point for the republic's party organizations.

What are the main aspects here? First and foremost, the further democratization of all internal party life. We need new people and new ideas, the speakers said. We need to ensure that the principle of competition between constructive programs, intentions, and plans of action for resolving the problems facing party organizations, labor collectives, and regions dominates during the report and election campaign. It is now seen as necessary to pay greater attention to work with young recruits to the party.

It was proposed that political methods of work be mastered more resolutely. And not only in the labor collectives. We need to go out into the streets and squares, galvanize Communists, and teach them to conduct discussions during keen political struggle. It was bitterly admitted that "we are sometimes afraid to urge people simply to use their common sense." Elections to republic and local soviets are coming up, and every Communist must realize that it is ultimately a question of who ends up holding authority. Forces openly hostile to our system no longer conceal their claims to this authority. It was pointed out that the responsibility of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, its Politburo, and its Secretariat for working out and implementing the correct political line is now greatly increasing. The Central Committee must be an intellectual, political center open to constructive proposals, no matter from whom they originate. A center quick to react to changes in all spheres of social life, which can interpret these changes and draw up analytical, thoroughly substantiated concepts both for the long-term future and for the successful solution of current tasks.

One of the most important aspects of preparations for the 28th congress, the speakers stressed, is to successfully resolve socioeconomic tasks and deepen economic reform. But it was clear from the plenum material that the situation in this respect is very serious. According to preliminary data provided by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the republic is not going to meet the 5-year plan targets in 1990 for growth rate in the national income or in industrial and agricultural output. It is also failing to secure targets for the production of electric power, coal extraction, and the manufacture of rolled ferrous metals, mineral fertilizers, and certain machine-building goods, light industrial goods, and agricultural produce. Unfortunately, this year, with almost all labor collectives working under the new economic management conditions, the situation has deteriorated in a number of sectors. Production output fell considerably in September in oblasts such as Donetsk Oblast, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Zaporozhye Oblast, and others. All this is a result of the fact that economic levers and incentives for reform have still not been properly brought into play. But the lack of a sense of responsibility and the poor professional training of cadres are making themselves felt to no less an extent. There is also no proper monitoring of execution.

V. Kotkov, first secretary of the Novobugskiy Rayon party committee [raykom], Nikolayev Oblast, gave what at first seemed to be a local example in his speech.

"Last year," he reminded people, "this auditorium examined agrarian problems, outlined various measures, and discussed the priority of the social sphere in rural areas. What has changed? Allocated supplies to our rayon of literally every type of construction material have been halved, if not quartered, and the allocation of resources to individual builders has also been greatly reduced. How on earth are we supposed to develop rural areas?!"

Possibly there is no vitally important issue that has not been discussed either by the Secretariat, the Politburo, or a Central Committee plenum. Decisions have been taken and people designated as responsible for their implementation, but progress has still been poor. Although he critically assessed the situation in the economy, the speaker still used the familiar range of entreaties: "put an end to," "stop the waste of," "take vigorous action to...."

Alas, even at this plenum one was reminded time and again of how difficult it is to shake off the stereotypes of the past. Not all the participants in the debate showed an interest in businesslike discussion of the issues on the agenda. Not all of them made specific proposals.

No, it was no accident that N. Bagrov, first secretary of the Crimean Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, said when discussing work style:

"How do we conduct our plenums? We follow the same old pattern. We listen to a report for an hour, if not longer. Then we have 15-20 speakers and adopt a document. But does it not seem to you that the emphasis is wrong in this pattern? After all, we should not be discussing the report but the draft decision which is to be our practical program of action. If we are collectively involved in drawing up the plenum decisions, we will probably find that collective sense of responsibility which we lack for putting this document into practice. I believe that the attitude of the masses to the party and the party committees will depend on how quickly we can radically change the forms of our work—from the Central Committee down to primary organizations."

A sensible idea. Even at this plenum, after several people had spoken, the chairman read out the list of people on the commission responsible for drawing up the decision and a little later suggested that its members start work outside the auditorium while the animated discussion continued within....

Naturally, a considerable amount of time at the plenum was given over to questions of interethnic relations and ideological work. It was pointed out, in particular, that there is still a great deal to be done to create an effective, democratic mechanism to control national processes. This is especially significant in the Ukraine, the home of citizens of almost 90 different nationalities. As already reported, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session is going to be discussing the draft Ukrainian SSR Law on Languages in the next few days. This draft law envisages giving state language status to Ukrainian. In the speakers' opinion, it is very important to ensure that the draft gives legal equality to the Ukrainian and Russian languages and the languages of other nationalities whose representatives live in the republic. This will guarantee against any distortions in the solution of language problems.

A considerable number of speakers touched on the subject of the Ukrainian People's Movement, Rukh. The plenum made its position clear with regard to this organization: The Ukrainian Communist Party is in favor of cooperation with all forces standing for the principles of socialism, restructuring, and friendship between the peoples of the USSR. At the same time, it will continue to resolutely expose those who do not accept the socialist choice, try to discredit the party, and propagandize separatism and national exclusivity. This particularly applies to the so-called Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian People's Democratic League, and other similar groups which are not going the same way as us, regardless of whose "cover" they are using to disguise themselves.

"Feigning concern for the good of the Ukraine," S. Stezhko, first secretary of the Krivorog City party committee [gorkom], said, "members of Rukh openly preach nationalist, chauvinist ideas. But they are essentially trying to seize political power.... If a crisis should break, those responsible will have 'nothing to do' with the misfortune. They will simply say with one voice: The Communists could not handle restructuring!"

The activities of Rukh representatives in mining collectives were discussed by P. Popov, a mine worker from the administration of the mine named for the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS. Representatives of the Ukrainian People's Movement, he stressed, do not call for a consolidation of forces at their rallies but for confrontation with organs of soviet authority and the party, and they sow enmity between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, stir up unhealthy emotions in people, provoke riots, and agitate among workers to abandon their economic demands in favor of political ones and refuse to obey organs of authority.

The damage caused by the activities of extremists from Rukh, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, and the UKTs [Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church] was discussed by G. Kryuchkov, first secretary of the Odessa obkom; A. Ruzhitskiy, first secretary of the Cherkassy obkom; and V. Vilchinskiy, chairman of the "Druzhba" Collective Farm [kolkhoz] in Vinnitsa Oblast.

Ya. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, also spoke out on this question. As is well known, the wild outburst of blatantly nationalist elements in Lvov has still not received a proper rebuttal by party organizations and soviet and law enforcement bodies. But matters have taken a dangerous turn: These "friends of the people" have launched a broad nationalist propaganda campaign and are putting powerful psychological pressure on the masses. It seemed that Ya. Pogrebnyak, who is also a candidate member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, was about to give a strict, self-critical assessment of the obkom's actions in this situation. This did not happen, however. Quite the reverse: He ventured to accuse the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee of being slow to stabilize the ideological situation.

The last speaker in the debate, A. Zonenko, editor of PRAVDA UKRAINY, strongly criticized the first secretary of the Lvov Obkom for his attitude to principled articles in the newspaper. What was it that Ya. Pogrebnyak did not like about PRAVDA UKRAINY, which has written frankly about attempts by hooligan elements waving blue and yellow banners to organize massive riots in the streets of Lvov? The editor quoted Ya. Pogrebnyak in the newspaper LENIINSKA MOLOD: "I would not write like PRAVDA UKRAINY does. There is no need to insult us all. But I believe that that is exactly what it has done."

The Lvov hotbed of nationalist, antirestructuring forces is distinguished by its blatant aggressiveness. They are also making visible attempts to destabilize the situation in other oblasts. PRAVDA UKRAINY has carried reports on the "Ukrainian Helsinki Union assault landings" from Lvov in Poltava, Kiev, Ivano-Frankovsk, Chernovtsy, and Donetsk. People must know the true face of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and anticommunist groups close to it, which are supported by Radio Liberty and Association of Ukrainian Nationalists organizations overseas.

"We have written about this repeatedly," A. Zonenko said. "This greatly displeases foreign benefactors, so PRAVDA UKRAINY is mentioned in every one of their broadcasts. The only thing I do not understand is why you, Yakov Petrovich, kowtow to those who do not like PRAVDA UKRAINY and who urge people to boycott it and not subscribe to it anymore?"

The path of renewal is not easy. The first steps and the first stages are particularly difficult. But they must be overcome in order to move confidently onwards, following the compass of restructuring.

Rukh Discusses Changes to Ukrainian Constitution

LD2310003689 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] A multi-thousand meeting organized by the Popular Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring [Rukh] took place in Kiev today. It was dedicated to the convocation of a regular session of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, which is due to open on 25 October. The majority of the speakers dealt with the draft bills on changes and amendments to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution with the election of people's deputies of our republic and local soviets as well as the draft law on languages in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. As we have already reported, these draft laws have been submitted for nationwide discussion before they will be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

Members Leave Rukh; Form Alternative Group

PM1510171189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Kleva report: "An Alternative to 'Rukh'"]

[Text] The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka [PMU], also known as "Rukh," has lost a large group of aktiv members from the PMU's consituent conference in Kharkov.

Professor V. Grinev, one of the group's leaders, declared that he made his decision at the PMU's constituent congress in Kiev, which, in his opinion, demonstrated the self-styled leaders' separatism, lack of a clear-cut stance in relations with the party, tendency toward "independence" [samostiynost], authoritarianism, and attempts to stifle "dissidence" within the movement's ranks.

V. Grinev found support among a large group of PMU aktiv members in Kharkov. As an alternative to "Rukh," they formed the nucleus of a public organization setting itself the task of aiming for the speediest solution of the oblast's specific problems along the path of perestroyka on the basis of the principles of internationalism. It comprises party and soviet officials, representatives of informal organizations, and workers, students, and members of the intelligentsia striving for radical changes. "Instead of arguing about the colors of flags, we call on people to get down to real work," the new organization's aktiv members declare. "This means creating efficient self-management models and programs to improve the economic reform and remedy the ecological situation and struggling for the election of the most deserving deputies to soviets and for the attainment of real people's power."

Activist Views Split in Leadership

LD2110194389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Serious disagreements have arisen in the Ukraine in the political leadership of Rukh. Our Kharkov correspondent (Vitaliy Pichenko) reports:

[(Pichenko)]Let me remind you that Rukh, or the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestrokya, began to be formed in December last year. And its first constituent congress took place this year on 9 September, at which it was proclaimed that the aim of the movement was the national rebirth of the Ukraine and active participation in perestrokya. Now, unexpectedly for many people, only just over a month after the congress there has been a split in the leadership of Rukh. A large number of former activists has left the leadership staff. They include my interviewee, Professor Grinev, the former cochairman of the Kharkov regional organization of the People's Movement of the Ukraine.

So, (Vladimir Ivanovich), what was it that forced you to leave the People's Movement of the Ukraine organization?

[Begin Grinev recording] In my opinion, the congress, and in particular the leaders of the movement, have started off down a politically incorrect path. We joined Rukh with the conviction that the national question should not have the upper hand, that the movement would be genuinely democratic and international. But unfortunately, as the Kiev congress showed, the national question was overemphasized by the leaders of Rukh and by the whole body of the congress. The leadership of Rukh, in its majority, are writers and workers in culture. And I understand very well that for a writer the question of language, and the question of national culture, are sacred; but we must not build our politics on such sacred things at the present time. Without solving the economic questions—liberating man, the economic individual—and political questions—implementing the idea of popular power—it is impossible to arrive at a solution to national questions today. The alternative policy, based on the priority of the national question is a dead end. All those who think as I do, who have left Rukh today, are convinced of this.

In fact, quite an interesting metamorphosis has taken place. While it comes out in words in favor of the demonopolization of power, of the pluralism of ideas and opinions and views, the movement had today already started to suppress dissidence. For us that is impermissible. [end recording]

Attitudes at 'Rukh' Congress Assessed

PM1010132989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 89 First Edition pp 2-3

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev report: "Which Flags Over Our Home? Reflections on a Sensational Congress"]

[Text] Kiev-Moscow—For some reason my years of study at Dnepropetrovsk University are firmly linked in my memory with the colorful figure of the deputy dean. He used to wear a shirt embroidered with a national ornamental design and speak with everyone only in Ukrainian and, at the same time, he would take offense in a somehow childish way when it turned out that his interlocutor was unable to answer him in the same language. In those times these "oddities" seemed rather strange, and so students in the philosophy faculty's Russian section independently, without consulting each other, would number him among the "cryptonationalists."

Those former conjectures about the deputy dean now strike me as both absurd and naive. These 15 years have changed a great deal in our life and made us reinterpret a great deal. Including the widespread dogmas of the "merging of the nations" and the "birth of a new community," which were firmly drummed into our heads.

Of course, love for one's land and for the language and culture of one's people and the desire not to lose and waste what was bequeathed by one's grandparents and great-grandparents have had and do have nothing in common with nationalism. It is another matter when this is the total extent of someone's thoughts and concerns. When the fence around his own farmstead seals him off from the whole of the rest of the world and from cares and problems common to all mankind. When the blame for the accumulated misfortunes and injuries to his land is indiscriminately shifted onto the shoulders of others who have been in need and suffered no less or even more.

Unfortunately, so it turns out, the rebirth of national awareness has its own social momentum. Precisely this momentum has not only set the limpid water in motion today but also stirred the sediment from the bottom and awakened and activated forces which make ready use of other people's slogans for their own ends and parasitize our natural desire to clean the scum of Stalinism from the ideas which previous generations selflessly upheld in a spirit of self-sacrifice and to fill them with real substance.

I believe that it is appropriate to recall all this when speaking of the constituent congress of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, which was held in Kiev in September and, as one of its initiators put it, created quite a sensation. Indeed, you will hardly find a newspaper—a republic, city, or in-house newspaper—in the republic now which has not commented in one way or another on that event. The congress is still being argued about heatedly at rallies and party meetings, in student auditoriums and at official conferences. Here the range of assessments being made of it is so wide and diverse that both the enthusiastic comments of "Rukh's" supporters and the overtly gloomy forecasts of its opponents fit easily within it.

The answer to the question of why this is happening would seem to be patently obvious. In formulating their ideas and proposals, the 1,109 delegates at the congress representing 280,000 members of the movement simply could not hold identical views. However, the simple statement of the fact of pluralism of opinions at the congress still does not say anything. It is far more important to emphasize that the "Rukh" congress did not just gather together different people but gathered together people who associated different aims with it. It was precisely the ultimate aims that determined both the purport and the tone of the majority of speeches.

Some spoke at the top of their voice about what just cannot be agreed to—about the burden of unresolved problems which have accumulated in the political, economic, and national-cultural spheres. About the irreparable harm caused to ecology in the republic in connection with the Chernobyl disaster. They leveled just and harsh criticism at the administrative-edict system of management, which has still not been dismantled, and at the bureaucratism and indifference of those on whom the destinies of thousands upon thousands of people depend. They made sensible and, on the whole, valid remarks concerning the draft laws on language and elections which are being discussed in the Ukraine....

However, there were also many delegates who endeavored to inflame political passions to the utmost and to turn the congress of a public movement into some kind of political show with ancient emblems and yellow and blue banners and tridents. Ukrainians today are slaves, and the union government is the implacable enemy of the USSR's peoples, M. Goryn, a functionary of the so-called "Ukrainian Helsinki Union," stated candidly from the rostrum. For Ukrainians the Russian language is nothing but underworld jargon, V. Berlandyan echoed him... Other like-minded people attempted to substantiate the hopelessness of the situation in which our society finds itself, frenziedly blackened the party and Soviet power, and demanded recognition for "Rukh" and themselves as the only alternative capable of extricating the republic from its critical state.

But whereas this position added nothing new to the political portraits of the leaders of all kinds of "Helsinki unions" [spilki], who have long been cooperating actively with Western ideological centers, similar thoughts and appeals sounded absurd, to say the least, from the lips of people's deputies and Communists. It is no wonder that they received particularly tumultuous applause and shouts of "bravo" in this regard.

When USSR People's Deputy Colonel V. Martirosyan left the rostrum, the most exalted section of the audience chanted in concert: "Glory to Martirosyan!" Why "glory"? Perhaps he had proposed a specific program to resolve some painful questions? Or, dividing his time between rallies and service, he had found healing prescriptions for the ills of our economy? No. In his verbose and not always coherent speech he spoke of the lack of Leninists in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo (naturally, he numbers himself among the Leninists) and said that, fulfilling the party leaders' instructions, the republic, "which produces more than everyone in the country with regard to all indicators, leads the hungriest life." That "the time has come to take power into our hands," since "our leaders do everything for the leaders."

What then should be undertaken in this situation, in the opinion of Communist Martirosyan? "Our chief task is the holding of elections to a high standard," he explained. "The only way is to ensure that the kind of people capable of leading the republic are the ones who accede to power. And afterward, this is how power can be taken away from party functionaries... Today we must smite precisely those who are at the helm." (Quote from the stenographic report—S.P.).

Naturally, as a military man, he could not fail to touch also on army problems close to him. After sharing with those present his impression "that someone is specially messing up the country and seeking the right moment in order... to bring the people to their knees by bringing in the troops," he firmly assured them that, "as long as there are commanders such as I in the Armed Forces—and there are many such as I—we will never direct our regiments against the people... We are 'bright' colonels and pure of heart. We are always for the people, and we will protect our people's interests."

After such statements you are no longer surprised that Taras Gunchak, chief editor of the journal SUCHASNIST, which is published by the overseas organization ZPUGVR ("Foreign Mission of the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council") of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN], and author of anti-Soviet books published in the West—"Russian Imperialism" and "Reassessment of Simon Petlyura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations"—who returned to the West from the congress, did not fail to mention Martirosyan's speech in an interview with a Radio Liberty correspondent. After pointing out with satisfaction that "Rukh" has returned "to the humanist principles of the Central Council and that its program has something in common with the ideas of the UKR [expansion unknown]," he spoke enthusiastically of Martirosyan's speech. I do not think the Communist officer will be proud of that laudatory remark.

The congress is over, passions have died down, and assessments have been made of blatantly unconstructive and odious positions unacceptable to the millions-strong population of the Ukraine, of which the movement's members constitute less than 1 percent, by the way. At the same time it would be rash, I believe, to confine ourselves just to this. Henceforth we will have to reckon with the fact that "Rukh" has been created and that "Rukh" is a reality. Taking into account both its minuses and its pluses. And there are pluses. Suffice it to say that the documents adopted by the delegates, albeit declarative documents frequently divorced from the realities of our life, also contain on the whole, reasonable judgments that are devoid of the hysterical tone which was characteristic of the congress atmosphere overall. To interpret all this, gain an objective and unbiased understanding of the situation, enter into the public movement's as yet untuned mechanism, and prevent it from turning off the path of perestroyka into the impasse of nationalism and separatism—this is the most important and most urgent task. Above all for party organizations and for every Communist.

It is reassuring that such steps are being taken. At the congress itself speeches were delivered for all to hear by party leaders who are openly undertaking a dialogue, who are ready for discussions, and who know for certain about the state of affairs in the country. They urged people to renounce emotions, not to confine themselves to indiscriminate criticism of the party apparatus and the party as an organization, but together, in concert, and in alliance to seek and find specific solutions to specific questions. I. Saliy, first secretary of Podolskiy Rayon party committee, who addressed the congress, emphasized that the paradox is that some people still write and read out the slogan manifestos but entrust others with fulfilling them, because they themselves do not know how this can really be done or they simply do not have the time.

L. Kravchuk, head of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, who also attended and addressed the "Rukh" congress, later told me with bitterness that many informals just cannot rid themselves of their state of political romanticism and of rally euphoria or understand that the ability to speak and the ability to act are not at all one and the same thing.

"Today all their unspent energy frequently is expended on loud slogans like 'We must save the dying Ukrainian language!' But against whom?" Leonid Makarovich smiled. "Only it is necessary really to save, and not just talk of saving. To think together about who will create the new textbook, where and how we are to print it in a mass edition, where to find the teachers, the premises, the equipment for new classes and schools...."

Yes, some popular speakers in the Ukraine still have to really get down to learning such approaches and such a view. How can I not recall here, by the way, the prehistory of the "sensational congress"? Ten days before it opened it came to light that somehow the organizers had not thought either about the premises or about hotel rooms for the guests and delegates. Only vigorous intervention by "party and soviet functionaries," whom many speakers later defamed so passionately, got the widely publicized forum off the ground. There is your "oppression" and "spokes in the wheels," of which so much is being spoken.

"Rukh" is still taking its first steps. It is looking for itself and is heterogeneous and contradictory. But it has already absorbed great intellectual potential. It has found supporters among people who are ardently and sincerely concerned about their homeland's future. Is this not fertile ground for cooperation between the party and the public movement, for a constructive dialogue, for a pooling of efforts, for the consolidation of people who share the ideas of perestroyka and renewal?

I recall a meeting with the Ukrainian poet I. Drach, who the day before had been elected chairman of the People's Movement of the Ukraine [PMU].

"Our movement's chief aim," he said, "is to get the people off their knees, to awaken spirituality within the person, and to revive the cultures which exist in the Ukraine."

I asked him about his attitude to army problems, since the idea of "national military formations" cropped up in one of the speeches at the congress.

"I try to take a sober view of things, and so I am convinced that the Army cannot be multinational in the present situation," he replied. "The fact that soldiers who serve in a particular republic must strive to some extent to study its history, culture, and literature and the language and traditions of its people is another matter."

Concerning the lack of mutual understanding with party workers, Ivan Fedorovich complained, by the way, that the question of registering the PMU, allocating premises, and starting up a newspaper which would help to elucidate many unclear and disputed questions is still not being resolved.

Clearly, a newspaper is needed. Only once again the movement members' own position is worrying. Should not they themselves tackle all this? The PMU leadership by the way has three times been advised to submit the appropriate application for a newspaper. But it has not yet turned up. Why? Are they in no hurry? Or are the samizdat leaflets, from which you won't get anything, as the saying goes, proving preferable today?

Of course, in responding to the appeal to cooperate with "Rukh," we must not be led along by its extremist wing and tolerate or ignore what is contrary to the Constitution and the existing laws. I believe that it is also necessary to speak of this because the facts convince us that the past congress did not cool some hot heads. "Rukh's" self-styled "guard detachments" have not yet been disbanded. "Yellow and blue" banners appear from time to time in noisy Kiev streets, creating a commotion and arousing perfectly understandable indignation in city folk. Gangs of young men attract attention, and people look round at them. This is understandable, for in the memory of the Ukrainian people the odious combination of these "colors" is associated not at all with the old times of the Ryurikoviches but exclusively with the bloody "exploits" of Bandera's rule. In just the same way the spidery swastika, which also was not invented by Hitler, is unambiguously and forever linked with fascism in the consciousness of millions of people.

Before I left, I was shown an operational report of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs; one of many. It said that handwritten leaflets with the text "Russkies out of the Ukraine" had been found on the fence of the local school in the village of Ponikva in Brodovskiy Rayon and on the wall of a store. They had been produced by seventh-graders. The seeds of discord have reached children's souls and put out their first shoots.

I cannot omit to cite one other document. I have in front of me the resolutions of the recent overseas congress of the OUN. They speak of a pressing need to "strengthen politically and extend the front of the struggle of Ukrainian young people" and to increase the OUN's influence on them by using, in particular, leaflets, appropriate literature, and the latest audiovisual systems. OUN supporters believe that it is more important than eveR today to instill in young people the ideas "of Moscow's historically unprecedented colonial plundering of the Ukraine's natural riches and of its slave treatment of the Ukrainian people." To convince them that "the disintegration of the USSR into independent national states within ethnographic borders is necessary for the Ukraine to achieve autonomy and independence...." The documents emphasize that all this can be achieved given close and all-around cooperation "with the liberation movements of Turkestan, Lithuania, Belorussia, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and others in the struggle against the common enemy—Russia...."

Objectively assessing the situation taking shape in the republic, you cannot fail to notice that today some people are clearly trying to adopt the foreign "guidelines." But which flags is the wind of perestroyka causing stream out over our common home? It is time for each and everyone to think about this.

More on Alma-Ata Antinuclear Protest

LD2110202689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our Alma-Ata correspondent reports:

[G. Yergaliyeva] [Video caption reads: "Alma-Ata, 21 October. Square of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Science"] The latest test at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test range on 19 October has produced this explosion on public indignation in Kazakhstan. [video shows hundreds of people marching on the square with placards and chanting slogans] Today a mass protest is taking place in Alma- ata, Semipalatinsk, Karaganda and other regions of the republic which are adjacent to the semipalatinsk test range, under the motto of the anti-nuclear movement in Kazakhstan: "Nevada-Semipalatinsk: An End to Nuclear Tests."

[Unidentified man, addressing the protesters on the square] We demand that the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic adopt a decision about immediate closure of the Semipalatinsk test range, and that it enter this issue, on behalf of the peoples of our republic, in the agenda of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. [protesters applaud]

[N. Fokina, cochairman of the Kazakhstan committee for Human Rights] In 1956, after graduating from the institute, I was sent to the so-called enterprise postbox No 5, and I arrived there with my 2-year-old son. We did not suspect what danger was looming. Those, who in their positions should have known about this, either did not know or simply were criminally silent. That danger caught up with me 20 years later. It took away my son, took him away in the form a collagen ailment. The ailment was due to the complete destruction of his immune system. [video shows Fokina talking to correspondent; some protestors singing to guitar music in the background]

[G. Yergaliyeva] The next test at the range will probably give the Kazakhs a choice of more decisive actions.

Joint Antitest Efforts Sought

LD2110164589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Alma-Ata, 21 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Almat Temirbekov reports:

To enter the 21st century without nuclear weapons—this was the leitmotiv of the speeches of participants in an antinuclear meeting which took place here today [21 October], in the capital of the Soviet Asian Republic of Kazakhstan.

Thousands of residents of Alma-Ata gathered on the square in front of the building of the republic's Academy of Sciences on the initiative of the public movement 'Nevada-Semipalatinsk' to say 'no!' to the nuclear tests which are held on testing sites in the U.S. state of Nevada and in Semipalatinsk oblast in Kazakhstan. The meeting was opened by people's deputy of the USSR, the poet Olzhas Suleymenov. He and other speakers—workers and students, representatives of the creative and technical intelligentsia—spoke with concern of the nuclear danger, and called for joint efforts in order to halt tests and manufacture of mass destruction weapons.

In the words of Abay Baygenzhin, director of the Republican Diagnostic Center, who spoke at the meeting, in Semipalatinsk Oblast and in neighboring regions, almost the highest levels of mortality of mother and child in the country have been recorded, and in the past 15 years the number of oncological diseases there has grown sharply.

He spoke to the meeting about the recent congress of the international movement "Physicians of the World for Prevention of Nuclear War," whose participants expressed concern at the situation which has taken shape in east Kazakhstan. According to Baygenzhin, physicians of many countries have shown readiness to take part in an international conference on this problem, to be held in Kazakhstan next year.

Those taking part in the meeting adopted an appeal to the Republic's Supreme Soviet with the request to petition the country's Supreme Soviet immediately to close the Semipalatinsk test ground and also to include this question on the agenda of the coming Congress of People's Deputies, on behalf of the people inhabiting Kazakhstan.

Antinuclear meetings were held today also in Semipalatinsk and a number of towns and worker's settlement situated near the test ground.

Kazakh Party Head Receives Religious Leaders

PM1310105989 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 p 1

[KAZTAG report: "Meeting with Religious Leaders"]

[Text] Qadi R. Nysanbayev of Kazakhstan, Bishop Yevseviy, head of the Alma-Ata and Kazakhstan Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, V.V. Gorelov, chief presbyter for Kazakhstan at the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, I.I. Velgosha, Seventh Day Adventist preacher from the republic, and other religious figures were received 25 September at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

During a conversation with them N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out the positive changes in the work to provide the republic's population with food and consumer goods and spoke about the new laws adopted recently at the session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet to promote linguistic equality and an improvement in interethnic relations. He stressed the importance of the restoration of Leninist principles relating to religion in recent years. This could not fail to affect the mood of believers. Having accepted the perestroyka under way in Soviet society, the overwhelming majority of them are making a definite contribution to it. Many religious organizations help the country in the struggle for peace and humanism and support its domestic and foreign policy.

He spoke of the need for the clergy to strive to spread and observe general human moral and ethical principles, charity, and philanthropy, especially mother and child protection, and aid for invalids and the elderly. Questions that arise between the state and religion must be practically resolved everywhere in accordance with the USSR and Kazakh SSR Constitutions.

It was also noted that meetings between the republic's leadership and religious figures are becoming regular. Positive answers were given to a number of their requests and wishes. The clergymen expressed gratitude for the reception.

The following took part in the meeting: U.D. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; K.S. Omerbayev, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; and M. Dzholdasbekov, head of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department.

Curbing of Tashkent Demonstration Described

PM2310124389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Own correspondent dispatch: "Tashkent: Extremists Heighten Tension"]

[Text] Tashkent, 21 Oct—A tense situation has formed in the capital of Uzbekistan in the past few days. Overexcited groups of Tashkent inhabitants can be seen on the streets, and reinforced militia detachments have blocked off the city center. What is the cause of this tension?

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session started its work on 20 October. On the agenda was the adoption of the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution, the Law on Elections of People's Deputies to Republican and Local Soviets, and the State Language Law. The most debate during the preliminary discussion was caused by the draft State Language Law. Representatives of the Uzbek-speaking population, in particular the leaders of the "Birlik" ("Unity") informal association, are expressing their dissatisfaction with the fact that their native language will not be acknowledged immediately, but only after a certain period of time.

At the same time, the population which speaks Russian, Tajik, and other languages is expressing bewilderment that the articles in the draft law about the use of their languages are not concrete, but vague. The words "as far as possible" and "in case of necessity" are frequently to be found there. Rallies have taken place at a number of large enterprises in Uzbekistan, where the demand was expressed to postpone discussion of the draft law which, in the working people's view, infringes on the interests of the nonindigenous population. This demand was put forward by Intersoyuz—an informal organization basing its program on the CPSU platform on nationalities policy.

On the day the session opened the republican newspapers published a Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee resolution recording "serious concern that destabilizing, extremist forces are heightening tension for their own selfish ends and are trying to create clashes between various groups of the population on grounds of nationality and to provoke mass disorder. Cases of interethnic conflict have increased in number in trade, consumer services, medical institutions, and transport."

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Prosecutor's Office have announced that, on 18-19 October in Tashkent, activists from the "Birlik" informal movement pasted up leaflets in many public places, containing appeals to young people to rally on V.I. Lenin Square on 19 October at 1700 hours. This step by the "Birlik" leaders was clearly provocative, since they were well aware of the decision made by the Tashkent City Soviet at the beginning of this year to use V.I. Lenin Square and October Revolution Square in the republic's capital only for festive ceremonies for all the people. And the rally, to which the informals were inviting people, was not even sanctioned.

On 19 October at 1630 "Birlik" activists from all corners of Tashkent started gathering near V.I. Lenin Square, but the approaches to the square were blocked by militia detachments and volunteer members of workers' militia detachments from the city's enterprises, voluntary people's patrols, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League tactical detachments. Then the informal activists started to gather in October Revolution Square. Leaders of party, soviet, and law enforcement organs addressed the people who had gathered, calling on them to disperse and not to violate public order. However, the crowd did not respond to these appeals. Internal affairs organs personnel were forced to take measures to detain the most aggressive initiators and organizers of the unlawful gathering. Over 100 people were taken to internal affairs offices. After they were officially registered, the appropriate legal documents were passed on to the people's courts in Tashkent city. All militia activity was supervised by prosecutor's office staff. They did not record a single incident of violation of socialist law on the part of the militiamen or the volunteers.

Administrative measures, in the form of fines and arrests, were not taken against many of those detained. Those who came to the unsanctioned rally through thoughtlessness or who were deceived by the appeals and demagogic speeches of "Birlik" activists were allowed to go home after receiving a warning.

The situation in the city is fully under control.

Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet Holds Session

LD2110130389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] A session of the Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet has ended. The deputies passed new laws on amendments and additions to the Constitution of the republic, on the elections of people's deputies of Turkmenistan and deputies of local soviets. The Supreme Soviet also decided that elections of people's deputies of Turkmenistan and of deputies of local soviets will be held on 7 January 1990.

Draft Language Law To Be Prepared

LD2110211289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the session of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenistan completed its work. A new law about changes on addenda to the republic's Constitution, about elections of people's deputies of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic and about elections of deputies of local soviets was adopted. A decision was adopted and a commission was formed to prepare a draft law on the status of the state language. Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the session.

Election Laws Adopted

PM2310132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "New Laws Adopted"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 21 Oct—Deputies at the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session, which lasted 2 days and ended today, adopted new laws: on amendments and additions to the republic's constitution, on elections of Turkmen SSR people's deputies, and on elections of local soviet deputies.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution scheduling elections of Turkmen SSR people's deputies and of local soviet deputies to be held 7 January 1990.

A debate developed during the discussion of the draft state program for the development and expansion of the sphere of functioning of the Turkmen language and for the improvement of the study of Russian and other languages. A resolution was adopted on the discussion's results, and a commission was formed to prepare draft laws on the status of the state language in the Turkmen SSR and the equal functioning of other languages on the republic's territory.

Deputies then heard a report on the activity of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers on ensuring the republic's socioeconomic development in the light of demands by the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, who delivered the report, and the deputies who spoke noted certain positive results in the development of the republic's economy in the course of perestroyka (appropriations for social needs have increased and production of consumer goods has been boosted) and analyzed shortcomings in detail. The capital construction situation is especially alarming. The population is inadequately supplied with industrial goods and foodstuffs. Perestroyka in the republic's agrarian sector is unsatisfactory. Deputies criticized the leadership of the republic's Council of Ministers, which is being slow to abandon its old work style.

The session was addressed by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee.

Lithuanian Deputies Reject Property Bill

LD2310112389 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] As was announced in yesterday's broadcast, the Lithuanian deputies refused to vote for the bill on land property. This is taken to mean the response of our deputies to the pressure put by the Soviet Government to recognise a public owned land as an all-union property. The deputy Romas Gudaitis shared his views on the current situation in the Sajudis TV broadcast "Atgimimo Banga," "The Wave of rebirth":

The ongoing session of the Supreme Soviet has conspicuously revealed attempts to present unitarianism and the old pattern of the state in a supposedly new light. Following the recent plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the deputies experienced pressure as far as it concerned making the Russian language a state language. A year ago, the Lithuanian language was proclaimed a national language in Lithuania. The Lithuanian deputies have already voiced their opinion on this score and suggested that the Supreme Soviet should appeal to the Soviet nations with a declaration concerning state languages in all-union republics and the principle of equaity of the inter-republic language. The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee is exerting pressure on the Supreme Soviet as far as the bill on language is concerned. Collisions and conflicts are in store for the deputies, said Romas Gudaitis. They are looking forward to the emergence of the Supreme Soviet constitutional court. Yet we are all fully aware that a constitutional court has but one objective: to veto constitutional processes and amendments adopted by the Supreme Soviet in the union republics. Working at the Supreme Soviet are quite a few highly qualified lawyers and their competence will be used to elaborate uniterian legislation. We shall have, no doubt, many cases of legal cheating, when old legislation is simply given a new wording. The Lithuanian deputies are unanimous at the Supreme Soviet session. They express their stand only on principled issues and are cautious about making constructive and business-like statements when they see there is no point in doing so. The deputies believe that Lithuania should not participate in redefining laws that are detrimental to Lithuania's drive for independence and to the statehood of our neighbors.

What stands in our way is a fictitious division of chambers in the Supreme Soviet. In the Soviet of

Nationalities, where the majority of votes predominates, the republics are basically deprived of the right to have their say. We shall insist, says Romas Gudaitis, that the Soviet of Nationalities functions in a proper way since it is the only high rostrum for Lithuania and other republics to express their standpoint. The Lithuanian deputies and their ideas are gaining ever broader support from the deputies of other republics. The number of the like-minded is increasing. For the time being, the center, and unfortunately Mikhail Gorbachev, fail to come to terms that a republic is a sovereign state. Attempts are being made to revive and assert the right of self-dependence existing only on paper, but once a right on paper always a right on paper. There is no movement at all, nor any tendency for the Soviet Union to become a genuine commonwealth of sovereign republics. Unitarianism keeps on triumphing. At present, the Soviet Government is taking a well-defined stand. It is prepared to share with the Supreme Soviet the full brunt of leadership in the whole country and claim responsibility for what is happening in the multinational state. Lithuania is worried by the future of her economic self-dependence, the discussion of which is being postponed to the end of the session. The center needs a unified legislation for all republics and seeks its goals by all available means.

Lithuanian Decree on Changes to Constitution

90UN0084B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Oct 89 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "On the Procedure for Putting Into Effect the Law of the Lithuanian SSR, 'On Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR'" signed in Vilnius, 30 September 1989]

[Text] In connection with the adoption of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Law of 29 September "On Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR," the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic decrees:

Article 1. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies retain their authority until the election of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and deputies of local soviets of people's deputies, and the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet until the formation of a new Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 2. The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is instructed after the elections of deputies to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to convene the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and organize the preparation of meetings and also, if necessary, exercise other authority granted to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by Article 104 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution in the wording of the Lithuanian SSR law of 29 September 1989.

Article 3. The established 5-year term of local soviets of people's deputies applies to local soviets of people's deputies beginning with their new term.

Article 4. State organs and officials answerable to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies retain their authority until the formation or appointment by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies of the corresponding organs and officials.

Article 5. The point of Part 4 of Article 80 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution in the wording of the Lithuanian SSR law of 29 September 1989, which does not allow officials elected or appointed by soviets of people's deputies to serve for more than two consecutive terms, is applied from the time of the election of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies of the new term and from the time of their appointment or election of officials.

Article 6. Judges and people's assessors exercise their authority until the election of the new Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and rayon (city) people's courts according to the procedure envisioned by Article 150 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the wording of the Lithuanian SSR law of 29 September 1989.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet V. Astrauskas

Secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet L. Sabutis.

Changes in Lithuanian Constitution

90UN0084A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Oct 89 pp 1-2

[Law of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR, signed in Vilnius on 29 September 1989]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] hereby decrees to make the following changes and additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR:

1. To present Chapter 8 in the following wording:

Chapter 8. The System and Principles of the Activity of Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 78. The soviets of people's deputies—the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the rayon, city, village, and uyezd soviets of people's deputies—comprise a unified system of representative organs of state power of the Lithuanian SSR.

On their territory the soviets of people's deputies are the authorized executors of the sovereign will of the people who act on the basis of democracy and the law.

Article 79. The term of office of soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR is 5 years.

Elections of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and deputies of local soviets of people's deputies are scheduled no later than 3 months before the expiration of the term of office.

Article 80. The most important questions of republic and local significance are considered and resolved at sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet elects a chairman of the Supreme Soviet and forms a Presidium.

The soviets of people's deputies form permanent commissions and create executive and management organs and also other organs that report to them.

Officials elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies may not hold their positions for more than two consecutive terms. Any official can be relieved of his position early in the event he does not perform his official duties properly.

Article 81. The soviets of people's deputies form people's control organs. People's control combines state control with social control of workers at enterprises and in institutions and organizations.

People's control organs verify the fulfillment of the requirements of legislation and state programs and assignments; they wage a battle against violations of state discipline, mismanagement and inefficiency, red tape and bureaucratism; they coordinate the work of other control organs; they contribute to improving the structure and the work of the state apparatus.

Article 82. Directly or through the organs they create, the soviets of people's deputies are in charge of all branches of state, economic, and social construction and they make decisions, provide for their implementation, and monitor the implementation of these decisions.

Article 83. The activity of the soviets of people's deputies is arranged on the basis of collective, free, businesslike discussion and resolution of issues, glasnost, and regular reporting of executive and management organs and other organs created by the soviets to the soviets and the population, as well as extensive enlistment of citizens to participate in their work.

The soviets of people's deputies and the organs they create take public opinion into account in their activity, bring the most important questions of state and local significance up for the discussion of the citizens, and regularly inform the citizens of their work and the decisions that are adopted.

2. Chapter 9 is to be presented in the following wording.

Chapter 9. The Electoral System

Article 84. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are elected as deputies to all soviets of people's deputies on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret voting.

Article 85. The elections of deputies are universal: Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached 18 years of age have the right to vote.

A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached 18 years of age has the right to be elected deputy of local soviets of people's deputies and one who has reached 21 years of age—deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR, with the exception of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, can be a deputy of only one supreme soviet at a time.

Individuals included on the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, and also leaders of ministries, state committees, and departments, departments and administrations of executive committees of local soviets, and other officials, judges, procurators and state arbitrators may not be deputies on the soviet that elected, appointed, and approved them.

Citizens declared by the court to be incompetent, individuals in places of incarceration because of sentences (decrees) of the court or because of an investigation of a criminal suit and also those confined by the court for compulsory treatment do not participate in the elections.

Article 86. The elections of deputies in the electoral okrugs are equal; the voter has one vote; the voters participate in the elections on an equal basis.

Article 87. The elections of deputies are direct: The deputies are elected by the citizens directly.

Article 88. Voting in the elections of deputies is private and secret: Monitoring of the expression of the will of the voters is not allowed.

For purposes of free expression of will all voters are provided with equal voting conditions.

Article 89. The right to nominate candidate deputies belongs to social organizations, including political and social movements, labor collectives, and meetings of voters in their place of residence.

The number of candidate deputies is not limited. Each participant in the pre-election meeting has a right to raise for discussion the candidacy of any citizen of the Lithuanian SSR, including his own.

Any number of candidate may be included on the ballots.

Expenditures involved in preparing for and conducting the elections of deputies are paid for at the expense of the state.

Article 90. The elections of deputies are prepared for openly and publicly.

The elections are conducted by electoral commissions created from representatives of social, including political, organizations, social movements, labor collectives, and assemblies of voters in their their place of residence.

Lithuanian SSR citizens, labor collectives, and social, including political, organizations and social movements are guaranteed the opportunity for free and comprehensive discussion of the political, business, and personal qualities of the candidate deputies and also the right to campaign for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio.

The procedure for conducting the elections is determined by the law of the Lithuanian SSR.

Complaints about violations of laws on elections of deputies are considered by election commissions and courts of the Lithuanian SSR according to a procedure established by law.

Article 91. The voters give orders to their deputies.

The corresponding soviets of people's deputies consider the orders, take them into account when drawing up the budget and also when preparing decisions concerning other issues, organize the fulfillment of the orders, and inform the citizens of their fulfillment.

3. Chapter 10 is to be presented in the following redaction:

Chapter 10. The Deputy

Article 92. Deputies are the authorized representatives of the people in the soviets of people's deputies.

Participating in the work of the soviets, deputies resolve issues of state, economic, and social construction, organize the implementation of congress decisions, and monitor the work of state organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

In his activity the deputy is guided by state interests, takes into account the demands of the population from his electoral okrug, and carries out the orders of the voters.

Article 93. The deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is released from the performance of his production or service duties during the entire time of his term in office.

The deputy of the local soviet of people's deputies serves his term, as a rule, without interrupting his production or service activity.

During the sessions of local soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR and also to perform deputy duties in other cases envisioned by the law, the deputy is released from performing his production or service duties and is reimbursed for expenditures associated with his deputy activity and paid his earnings with money from the local budget.

Article 94. The deputy has the right to make inquiries of state organs and officials, who are obligated to give him an answer to the inquiry at a session of the Supreme Soviet or local soviet of people's deputies.

The deputy has the right to address all state and social organs and enterprises, institutions, and organizations regarding questions of deputy activity, to obtain the necessary information from them, and to participate in the consideration of the questions raised by them. The leaders of the corresponding state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations are obliged to receive the deputy promptly and consider his proposals within the established time periods.

Article 95. The deputy is granted conditions for unimpeded and effective exercise of his rights and responsibilities.

The immunity of the deputies and also other guarantees of deputy activity are established by legislation.

Article 96. The deputy must report on his work and also the work of the corresponding soviet to the voters and also to the collectives, social, including political, organizations, and social movements that nominated him as a candidate deputy.

A deputy who has not justified the confidence of the voters may be recalled at any time by a decision of the majority of the voters according to the procedure established by law.

4. Articles 98-114 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution are to be declared invalid and a new wording of articles 98-111 is to be approved:

Article 98. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet at the request of the mandate commission that elected him makes a decision to recognize the authority of the deputy. When it is established that there have been violations of the law on elections in some electoral okrug which has had a decisive influence on the results of the elections, the elections of the deputy for this okrug are declared invalid.

Article 99. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet annually convenes at regular—spring and autumn—sessions.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on its initiative or at the suggestion of no less than one-third of the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of meetings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and also meetings of permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet held in the periods between them. The session is opened and closed at meetings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy leads the meetings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The first meeting of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet held after the elections, is opened by the chairman of the republic election commission and then the meeting is led by the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy.

The session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is authorized if no less than two-thirds of the overall number of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet participate in it.

Article 100. The right to legislative initiative in the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet belongs to deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, the Lithuanian SSR procurator, and the Lithuanian SSR chief state arbitrator.

Social organizations, including political ones, also have the right to legislative initiative through their republic organs and the Lithuanian SSR Academy of sciences.

Article 101. Draft laws and other issues brought up for consideration of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet are preliminarily discussed at its meetings after which they are turned over for consideration by one or several commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The discussion of these drafts and other issues at meetings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet continues after the hearing of the conclusions and recommendations of the corresponding commissions on the plans.

Lithuanian SSR laws and decrees or other acts of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet are considered to be adopted if the majority of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet participating in the session of the republic Supreme Soviet have voted in favor of them.

Draft laws and other of the most important issues of state and social life of the republic can be raised for public discussion by a decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 102. Lithuanian SSR laws, decrees of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and other acts are published after they are signed by the chairman and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 103. The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet as an organ that provides for the organization of the work of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other authority within the limits envisioned by the Constitution and the laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet includes, according to position, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy chairman and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairmen of the permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

By a decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet other deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet may be elected to the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is headed by the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 104. The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) convenes the first session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet of the new term no later than 2 months after the elections;

2) organizes the preparation of the sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

3) coordinates the activity of the permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) if necessary, renders assistance to deputies of the Lithuanian SSR in exercising their authority;

5) resolves problems of rendering methodological assistance to local soviets of people's deputies;

6) organizes preparation and conducting of referendums, and also people's discussions of Lithuanian SSR draft laws and other most important issues in the republic state and social life;

7) accepts individuals for citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR; resolves problems of loss of Lithuanian SSR citizenship and granting of asylum;

8) confers state awards on representatives of the Lithuanian SSR in foreign countries and international organizations;

9) takes over the authority of individuals who have been convicted by courts of the Lithuanian SSR;

10) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Lithuanian SSR in foreign countries and international organizations;

11) accepts credentials and recall certificates of accredited diplomatic representatives from foreign states;

12) carries out other instructions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet issues informal orders and adopts decrees.

Upon the expiration of the term of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet retains its authority right up until the time the first session of the newly elected Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is convened.

Article 105. The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is the highest official of the Lithuanian Soviet state and represents the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic within the country and in international relations.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by a secret vote for a period of 5 years for no more than two consecutive terms. He may be recalled by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet through a secret vote.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 106. The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) provides general leadership of the preparation of issues subject to consideration by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet; signs laws of the Lithuanian SSR and other acts adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

2) reports to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on the situation in the republic and important issues in the Lithuanian SSR domestic and foreign policy;

3) submits to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet candidacies for election to the position of deputy chairmen of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) submits to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet candidacies for appointment or election to the position of chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Lithuanian SSR, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, and head of the Lithuanian SSR State Arbitration Board;

5) conducts negotiations and signs international agreements of the Lithuanian SSR.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet issues instructions.

The deputy chairmen of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by the authority of the chairman perform certain of his functions and replace the chairman in the event of his absence or the impossibility of his performing his duties.

Article 107. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet elects from among the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions for doing draft law work, preliminarily considering and preparing questions pertaining to the work of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and also contributing to the enforcement of Lithuanian SSR laws and other decisions adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and monitoring of the activity of state organs and organizations.

When it considers it necessary the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet creates investigation, inspection, and other commissions for any problem.

Article 108. Officials of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, and also members of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and the board of the Lithuanian SSR State Arbitration Commission are appointed or elected when a conclusion to this effect has been reached by the corresponding permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All state and local organs, organizations, and officials are obliged to meet the requirements of the commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and submit the necessary materials and documents to them.

The recommendations of the commissions are subject to mandatory consideration by state and social organs, institutions, and organizations. The results of the consideration and the measures that have been adopted must be reported to the commissions within the time period established by them.

Article 109. A deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet at sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet has the right to make inquiries to the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of other organs formed by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The organ or official to whom the inquiry is made must give an oral or written answer at the given session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet within no more than 3 days or under another procedure established by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A deputy of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet cannot be held criminally liable, arrested, or subjected to measures of administrative punishment imposed judicially without the agreement of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and during the period between its sessions—without the agreement of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 110. The procedure for the activity of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and its organs is determined by the regulations of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and other laws of the Lithuanian SSR published on the basis of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Article 111. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet monitors the activity of all state agencies under its jurisdiction.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet directs the activity of the Lithuanian SSR people's control committee which is in charge of the system of people's control organs.

The organization and procedure for the activity of people's control organs is determined by the law.

5. Articles 125, 126, 127, and 128 are to be presented in the following wording:

Article 125. Local soviets of people's deputies resolve all problems of local significance on the basis of state interests and the interests of citizens living on the territory of the soviet and also principles of self-management; they implement decisions of the highest state organs; they participate in the discussion of problems of republic and union significance, and they make suggestions regarding them.

On their territory local soviets of people's deputies are in charge of state, economic, and sociocultural construction; they approve the local budget and the report on fulfillment of the budget; they provide leadership for the state organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations under their jurisdiction; they supervise the activity of the enterprises, institutions, and organizations located on their territory, and they provide for the observance of the Constitution and the laws, maintenance of state and social order, and protection of the rights of the citizens.

Article 126. Local soviets of people's deputies make decisions within the bounds of their authority provide for comprehensive economic and social development on their territory; monitor the observance of laws by enterprises, institutions, and organizations under higher jurisdiction on their territory; and coordinate and monitor their activity in the area of land use and the use of other natural resources, the protection of nature, construction, the utilization of labor resources, protection of monuments of history and culture, production of consumer goods, and sociocultural, domestic, and other service for the population.

Article 127. Local soviets of people's deputies make decisions within the bounds of the authority granted to them by Lithuanian SSR legislation. The decisions of local soviets are mandatory for all enterprises, institutions, and organizations and also officials and citizens located on their territory.

Article 128. Sessions of Lithuanian SSR local soviets of people's deputies are convened no less frequently than four times a year.

Local soviets of people's deputies at their sessions are authorized to consider and resolve any issues placed within their competence by legislation. The list of issues subject to consideration and resolution exclusively at the sessions is determined by the laws on local soviets of people's deputies.

6. Part 1 of Article 132 is to be presented in the following wording:

Article 132. Executive and management organs of local soviets of people's deputies are the executive committees elected by them.

7. Part 2 of Article 134 is to be presented in the following wording:

The executive committees provide for the implementation of decisions of the soviets and higher organs and are in charge of the management organs under their jurisdiction.

8. Chapter 17 is to be presented in the following wording:

Chapter 17. The Court and Arbitration

Article 149. Justice in the Lithuanian SSR is carried out only through the court. Courts with special authority may not be formed in the Lithuanian SSR.

The courts of the Lithuanian SSR are the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and the rayon (city) people's courts.

The organization and procedure for the activity of the Lithuanian SSR courts are determined by laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 150. All courts in the Lithuanian SSR are formed on the basis of election of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts and judges of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court are elected by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

People's assessors of the rayon (city) people's courts are elected by local soviets of people's deputies and people's assessors of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court—by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All kinds of judges are elected for a period of 10 years, and people's assessors of courts—for a period of 5 years.

Judges and people's assessors are answerable to the soviets of people's deputies who elected them, they report to them, and they can be recalled through the procedure and with the justification established by the law.

Article 151. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR and provides supervision of the judicial activity of the Lithuanian SSR courts.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court consists of a chairman, his deputies, and members and people's assessors.

Article 152. Civil and criminal cases are examined collectively in all courts, and in a court of the first instance with the participation of people's assessors. People's assessors enjoy all the rights of judges when administering justice.

Article 153. Judges and people's assessors are independent and subject only to the law.

Judges and people's assessors are provided with conditions for unimpeded and effective exercise of their rights and fulfillment responsibilities. Any intervention in the activity of judges and people's assessors in their administration of justice is inadmissible.

The immunity of judges and people's assessors and also other guarantees of their independence are established by the law on the status of judges and other legislative acts of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 154. Justice is administered in the Lithuanian SSR on the basis of equality of citizens before the law and the court.

Article 155. The examination of cases in all courts is open. Hearing cases in closed court sessions is allowed only in cases established by the law and with the observance of all the rules of legal procedure.

Article 156. The accused has the right to a defense.

Article 157. In the Lithuanian SSR legal proceedings are conducted in Lithuanian. Individuals participating in the case who do not know Lithuanian have the right to become completely familiar with the materials of the case and participate in legal proceedings through an interpreter and they have the right to speak in court in their native language.

Article 158. On the basis of the presumption of innocence no one may be declared guilty of committing a crime or punished in any other way than through a court sentence and in keeping with the law.

Sentences are imposed on behalf of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 159. Boards of advocates provide legal aid to citizens and organizations. In cases envisioned by legislation legal aid is rendered to citizens free of charge.

The organization and procedure for the activity of the bar are determined by laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 160. Representatives of social organizations and labor collectives are allowed to participate in legal proceedings for civil and criminal cases.

Article 161. Economic disputes among enterprises, institutions, and organizations are resolved by state arbitration organs within the limits of their competence.

9. Article 172 is to be presented in the following wording:

Article 172. A change in the Lithuanian SSR Constitution is made by a decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the overall number of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or a referendum.

Chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet V. Astrauskas.

Secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet L. Sabutis.

Lithuania Party Organs Issue Appeal on Crime

LD2010180189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers have appealed to the population in connection with the upsurge of crime. In some cities and districts, the number of criminal offenses registered so far equals the figures for the whole of last year.

Offenses against people are increasing in number, theft has reached an extremely high level, the black market is rampant and speculation is flourishing. Younger and younger people are commiting crimes.

The appeal by the leadership urges all public organizations and movements, all people of goodwill, to consolidate and join efforts to combat crime. The people are urged not to be indifferent to antisocial acts, to foster intolerance of any breach of law and order, to back up the militia and other law enforcement institutions.

Baltic States To Discuss Baltic Market

LD2310150489 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Riga October 23 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Galina Kuchina:

The Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Governments intend to discuss the establishment of a Baltic market and a gradual transition to republican currencies, say final documents issued by a meeting of representatives from the three republics in Riga.

The meeting discussed questions of pooling efforts to develop economic independence.

A communique published in the Latvian press today notes that the preparation for the transition to cost-accounting and self-government in the Baltic republics, starting next January, "is going on under tense and difficult conditions".

In the opinion of the three Baltic heads of government who signed the documents, it is now expedient to draft the general principles and structure of treaties for economic cooperation between the USSR and the union republics.

A treaty on cooperation between the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian republics for 1990 is planned to be drafted in December.

The meeting participants also agreed to inform one another of the output of goods produced by the republics to rationalise deliveries. They also approved a proposal to open joint offices abroad and in some Soviet regions.

Latvian Draft Law on Presidency Published

LD2010133189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] CINA has published a republic draft law on the election of the Latvian President. It stipulates that the election of the republic's president will take place on the basis of general, equal and direct election rights, by a free and secret ballot. The republic president must be a Latvian citizen who was born in Lativa and who has resided permanently for not less than 10 years on the republic's territory, has reached 40 years of age, and who speaks Latvian and Russian.

'Language Week' Opens in Latvia

LD2010134789 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] This week in Latvia is the traditional Language Week, when we talk about the problems of the native language. This year this week takes place for the first time under the conditions when the Latvian language in Latvia has been appointed the state language by law.

Language Week opened with a gathering organized by the Academy of Sciences, at which the question of the Latvian language in the conduct of business was discussed. This subject is of great topical urgency, because in the conduct of business the Russian language has practically already forced the Latvian language out.

Participants in a day of language practice unanimously decided to send a letter to the party Central Committee, to Mikhail Gorbachev, and to the USSR Supreme Soviet session with a protest against the proposal expressed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum to recognize the Russian language as the state language of the entire Soviet Union.

The letter stated that adoption of such a chauvinistic law would essentially sweep off the surface of the earth all the laws adopted in the union republics on the national state languages.

Armed Militia Search Vehicles in Tallinn

LD2010135689 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 89

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Text] Here is more on today's news. Many telephone calls have been received at the editorial board today and what we will now talk about will explain quite a bit to those who phoned.

The people who happened to be in central Tallinn today, around lunch-time, could see militiamen at nearly every corner, many armed with submachine guns. Those men on guard were stopping vehicles and examining them. Altogether (?733) cars were inspected. Fifty-five did not have licence plates, [words indistinct] without a driving licence. Five vehicles had to be detained, however, for a considerably longer time. Two men had big hunting rifles with them, and two had guns ready to shoot. As is known, carrying firearms without a licence is prohibited and criminal proceedings were initiated against their owners.

The most exciting find, however, was a suitcase which was tightly packed with wads of banknotes. None of the men inside the vehicle claimed it as their own. But when the militia said that if this was the case then it would have to be removed and the owner traced, the men began to worry about losing the money. Instantly an explanation was offered which was not particularly plausible.

Today's action was organized by the Directorate of Internal Affairs, with colleagues from the Ministry of Internal Affairs assisting. The militia hopes that the population understands the need for such undertakings and would not be angered when they are inconvenienced for a couple of minutes.

'Self-Managing Estonia' Program Examined

PM2009144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Morning Edition p b2

[Article by special correspondents L. Levitskiy and B. Reznik: "'Self-Managing Estonia'—What Is It?"]

[Text] Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—IME—these letters have filled the newspaper pages today and are printed on posters pasted up all over the republic. They mean "self-managing Estonia." For the country as a whole this program is known by another name—the republic's economic independence.

Fifth Point of IME Program

The date and birthplace of IME and its "parents" are known precisely: On 26 September 1987 the Tartu City newspaper EDASI published a letter from four authors: journalist S. Kallas, economist T. Made, philosopher E. Savisaar, and sociologist M. Titma. They justified the need for the republic to transfer to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet].

"There was a tense political situation in the republic that fall," M. Titma, one of the authors of the item published in EDASI and now secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, recalls. "The rapid national self awareness could develop into opposition to Soviet power and to socialism. Living conditions in the republic were deteriorating continuously. The former leadership strenuously avoided noticing the feeling of uncertainty and unbelief which had gripped the Estonian population. And before it grew into a conflict it was necessary to divert the energy of national self awareness into a constructive channel. In this political situation IME was a real life saver.

What covert force was concealed in this initiative on the part of people with neither power nor office if it essentially forced the republic's first leaders to resign and set hundreds of thousands of people in motion? That force was the feeling of being the master, the feeling of unity with the land which has long determined the Estonian's mentality and character. National awakening or to be more precise the national upsurge long latent in the people and released by perestroyka broke out of the usually permissible boundaries, growing into a negation of all postwar reality. Its sources are not only the memory of the actual circumstances of the Baltic republics' entry into the Soviet Union but also their subsequent standard of living. The daily comparison of this standard of living with life on the other shores of the Baltic, where about 100,000 Estonian emigres settled.

The hastily imposed integration did not lead to a union of peoples, economies, and cultures. Its most tangible result was the departmental giant monopolies, whose aspirations coincide neither with the interests of the territories allocated to them nor with the interests of the country. The interests of man were totally forgotten. He became increasingly estranged from the land, ownership, and the results of his labor.

IME hinges on the demand that all this be returned to him and that the territory be accorded integral, balanced development controlled by those who live on it. Why was such a clear and sensible idea perceived as seditious, as undermining the foundations of power? Was it not because the foundations themselves were formed as diktat from the center and its unconditional control of everyone and everything? Proceeding from this premise, the improvement of the system was proposed only at all-union level. With this view the independence of republics and regions and their self management were not given their due place.

What we are saying is an objective contradiction. A contradiction between the center and the territory. In the union republics it invariably acquires a national hue. It is here that mutual incomprehension was born and later suspicion between the Estonian community and the Russian-speaking community, represented mainly by the labor collectives of large enterprise.

Is it not a paradox that the IME concept was born, was discussed, and is developing in an atmosphere of democracy? It was crystallized from the multiplicity of proposals from various groups of scientists, public-spirited people, and formal and informal experts. And here the elaboration of options and their discussion somehow bypassed the labor collectives in which the numerically strong Russian-speaking population is employed. That is why we can understand one of the slogans of the recent strike: "Do not impose your laws on us, draft them with us."

We are obliged to cite a rather long quotation from the law "fundamental principles of the Estonian SSR's economic accountability" or to be more precise almost the entirety of its article five, which is at the center of the disputes today: "...The direction of economic activity stems from the need to ensure that the indigenous nation remains the main subject on its historical territory, determining political, cultural, and socioeconomic development. In the Estonian SSR's economy it is essential to ensure the safeguarding and increase of the role of the Estonian nation, the improvement of the demographic situation, the reproduction of the Estonian nation's social and professional structure, the continuity of cultural traditions, the development of spiritual potential, and the expansion of the opportunity for applying it."

"If IME's aim is to ensure prosperity only for the Estonian nation then the fifth point of the law in that sense is extremely precise," comments I. Shepelevich, deputy chairman of the joint council of labor collectives and director of the plant named for Pegelman. "If the aim of the concept is to build a flourishing multinational Estonia then why set its peoples against each other?"

At a recent meeting between the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium commission and representatives of the strike committees agreement was successfully reached that this article of the law should provide for equal economic, social, and cultural development conditions for all.

The agreement instills hope, but it is nonetheless more sensible to discuss articles of the law and agree on them before they are adopted and not after.

First or Alone?

"It is perfectly clear to me as a sociologist that the main defect of our economic order is the lack of flexible structures conducive to changes. In the United States there are federal laws and there are state laws which determine in practice the life of these territories," M. Titma notes. "And that does not destroy the economy, but strengthens it. Without the autonomy of regional complexes and territories' self management it is impossible to lead the country's entire national economy out of deadlock..."

"The economy of an economically accountable Estonian SSR functions mainly as a self-regulating one based on the principles of cost recovery, self financing, self management, and self monitoring in accordance with Estonian SSR legislation." That is from the law "fundamental principles of the Estonian SSR's economic accountability." We tried to find out what republican or regional economic accountability actually is. Alas, the economic manuals do not contain this concept. So that Estonia is the first to reconnoiter the way in the intricate labyrinths of the domestic economy. But what should be sought, apart from the three well-known "S's" of economic accountability?

It was in vain that we tried to find out from the leaders of several enterprises in Tallinn. Yet as of 1 January, that is in 3 months time, together with the entire republic they must work under the conditions of regional economic accountability. All economic activity must be attuned to it right now.

"Draft laws are now being elaborated designed to guarantee the republic's economic independence and tomorrow experts will examine the first of these—draft laws on entrepreneurship, on the registration of enterprises, on the national enterprise, and on local self management," E. Rooze, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee, says. "For the time being we are thinking of the first few hundred interconnected draft laws ensuring the transition to economic accountability. I note that in prewar Estonia there were 1,027 laws regulating economic activity. There are thousands of them in neighboring developed states...

"Sooner or later, of course, the laws will appear—they are being elaborated here with stepped-up vigor. But these documents are also being created at union level. In comparing the draft union and Estonian laws on ownership, the land, the taxation system, leasing, and the socialist enterprise, we note substantially different interpretations in them. Which laws should we be guided by?"

That is not an idle question. Without resolving the overall problem promptly we will later constantly be stumbling across its partial but nonetheless acute manifestations.

As an example let's dwell on what economic and financial experts are talking about most today—the principles of the formation of next year's budget. This is a special item and therefore it is best for a specialist—the republic's finance minister, E. Myandmaa—to describe it.

"Today financial experts are caught between two extremes. So far no one has repealed the all-union procedure for forming the budget. But the IME concept and the relevant Estonian law provide for fundamentally different budgetary systems. So far our main deductions have gone to the center. Then—according to normatives, of course—our budget and its items of expenditure were determined for us. But now all payments must remain in the republic and it gives its share to the all-union programs.

"Which of the two principles will be approved we do not know," the minister continues. We are elaborating two options to be on the safe side. Although it is clear that the forthcoming session of the country's Supreme Soviet will approve the all-union budget. The Estonian budget is a component part of that budget. And the proposals prepared by the union Ministry of Finances for this session in no way suit us. Imagine, next year the republic will pay R185 million more to the center than this year. But it is planned to reduce our budget by R28 million. This decision is beyond logic and common sense. You can imagine the reaction it will cause in the republic. What is the point in spending revenue if life becomes no better as a result?..

"There are many such obstacles on the path of republican economic accountability. Here we usually think: The first people will have to surmount them. But is it not more sensible simply to remove these obstacles promptly, helping the first people, and clearing the way for those who follow?"

Emotions and Economics

The IME concept is caught up in rumors. There are frequent assertions that all this self management is merely preparation for leaving the union. The economic concept, people say, has an entirely specific political inner side. Having broken off economic ties it is easy to renounce state ties, too. We agree that many appeals, slogans, and declarations at meeting of extremist and even nonextremist organizations give grounds for thinking this. But let's also think about how the right to self determination right up to withdrawal from the USSR is a constitutional right. To take advantage of it there is absolutely no point in erecting such complex economic bastions. If we are speaking of the destruction of the single national economic complex and of isolationism, it is worth recalling that Estonia's gross output is only about 1 percent of the all-union volume. So that even the most ferocious extremist realizes very well that the country cannot be intimidated by a "boycott" of this kind. Any sensible Estonian considers all talk of cutting economic ties to be absurd.

E. Toots, chairman of the Estonian State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], outlined these ties for us as follows. "Over 30,000 types of output of various kinds arrives only through Gossnab channels. The agro-industrial complex is supplied through its own channels. Petroleum products (and personal transport ownership in Estonia per 1,000 inhabitants is three times as high as the average for the country) come via their own system. And ministries received over 2,000 types of various output from the ministries..."

"Is it simple to destroy these ties?"

"You cannot go to bed dependent and wake up independent," said V. Beskivyali, first deputy chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Industry. "And indeed we have a completely different understanding of independence. It is the opportunity to develop freely, to mutual advantage, partnership, traditional partnership along vertical lines and direct horizontal partnership with all republics and regions."

The main IME concept is market relations within and outside the republic.

This idea was stressed to us at all our meetings. But market relations are an economy free primarily of any diktat. How are we to understand here the moral pressure on Russian-speaking collectives with regard to altering the subordination of enterprises and changing their specialty? Is it not strange that the republic's leaders began their talk about this in Moscow and not at the plants and factories of Tallinn, Narva, and Kokhtla-Yarve? Bypassing the labor collectives in this way in resolving a question of such importance for them has merely strengthened distrust in healthy "self management." The logic is simply: If it is being done behind our backs it must be being done against us.

This was said to us directly at Tallinn seaport, for instance. Its collective had thought seriously about its place in the future economically accountable Estonia and prepared a project for switching to the leasing system in order to become the full master. And suddenly the dockers learned from the newspapers that the republic's council of ministers has decided to reorient the port as of next year to service passenger ships and steam ships. A port which processes up to 7 million tonnes of freight a year and has highly specialized equipment and highly skilled collectives of dockers must be deprived of all that. Who will make up the losses and pay the enormous reconstruction expenses?

...The republican newspapers recently described the press conference held by E. Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian State Planning Committee. Answering journalists' questions, he said with the utmost clarity that in his opinion the enterprises which have withdrawn from union subordination should acquire the status of extradepartmental enterprises, become independent, and live solely by economic laws. It would be a good thing to persuade the labor collectives of the fairness of this approach.

In Estonian the abbreviation IME sounds very like the word "miracle." Some people are expecting truly miraculous and immediate results from its introduction. That kind of thing does not happen. Only long, persistent work and a consideration for the interests of all people living in the republic can bring closer the economic reorganization we all want so much.

The IME concept was born as a counterweight to diktat. It would be strange to see it as the instrument for suppressing independence. Life has frequently convinced us that even the best aims have not once yet been attained using just any means.

Economic

Official Criticizes Draft Plan, Budget

LD2210131389 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—"The drafts of the state plan and budget for 1990 give rise to deep concern among the deputies," Gennadiy Filshin, secretary of the Plan, Budget and Finance Commission of the Soviet Parliament, told the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA.

He said that the drafts caused dissatisfaction because they were nothing more than a face-lift of the command-administrative system. Transition to economic methods is effectively blocked, he continued. For example, far from being an alternative to the command and administrative system, the draft law on local self-government and self-financing represents a veiled attempt to fit self-government into the selfsame system. In other words it openly suggests regulating it from above.

Filshin is also opposed to the low level of investments into consumer-goods industries and large budget deficit, which are envisaged in the draft.

This can eventually lead to irreversible changes in the economy and add to financial chaos, he argues.

The deputy urges to abandon regulation from above and to give more freedom to republics, regions and enterprises. It is essential for the government to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet a system of extraordinary measures aimed at taking the economy and society out of crisis.

Rail Situation Described as 'Complex and Tense'

904H0024A Moscow GUDOK in Russian 18 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by A. Rostovtsev: "Unloading is the Bottleneck"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Minister of Railways V.N. Butko assessed the current situation on the railroads of Transcaucasia as complex and tense. He voiced his opinion at a press conference held at the MPS [Ministry of Railways]. Leaders of the ministry and of the USSR Procuracy took part in the conference.

It would appear that this position is surprising now that the trains to Armenia are running "full-tilt." In 5 days since the restoration of railway traffic, 7,190 cars were transferred to Armenia, including 503 with foodstuffs and 562 with fuel and lubricants. The first 15 cars with fuel traveled through Agdam to Stepanakert. All of this has enabled us to reduce the number of trains of the South Urals, West Kazakhstan, Dnepr, Southeast, Volga, South, and North Caucasus Railroads traveling to Armenia and temporarily placed on sidings.

As V.N. Butko noted, "The issue of unloading cars at the Yerevan division is particularly acute. As of 16 October, there were about 5,000 cars there. In the first half of the day, i.e., primarily during night hours, only 20 percent of what is delivered is processed there. The daily balance of cars not unloaded amounts to 25,000."

Deputy Minister of Railways L. Pingarev talked about the manner in which the traffic was restored:

"We flew to Baku on 1 October. The picture on the railroad was bleak: The trains virtually were not moving on the Azerbaijan Railroad. In general, the first issue, on the resumption of traffic inside Azerbaijan, was resolved with relative ease. However, the second issue, that of transferring the cars to Armenia, initially appeared insurmountable. Only as late as 4 October we sent the first train to Idzhevan, and on the following day two trains were exchanged through Norashen. On 6 October, the shift became more perceptible—13 trains went to Armenia through three contact points, excluding bulk liquids and foodstuffs. Only on 11 October did the normal movement of trains resume."

One day before this event, the first meeting of MPS leaders with the journalists was held. N.S. Konarev discussed tremendous losses caused by the difficult time of the blockade. It was said that we must be much more resolute and keep the initiative.

This time, responding to a question concerning the degree of influence of the People's Front of Azerbaijan on railroad employees, L.I. Pingarev remarked that this is an organized force which has real-time information, especially on the railroad.

He went on to say: "I do not at all think that some railroad employees failed to take part in the processes under way. This is why even now we cannot guarantee the reliable movement of trains in this region. During my visit to Azerbaijan, I once again became convinced that no 'fronts' should influence the railroad. It is going to be bad otherwise. This is the first point. Here is the second one. The main issue, the political one, needs to be resolved faster because all peoples of Transcaucasia are suffering morally and financially due to the delay.

Confirming this idea, V.N. Butko stressed that in 1 month, between 4 September and 4 October, the employees of Belodzary engine depot of the Azerbaijan Railroad alone lost an average of R160 each. They failed to receive 190 apartments also. As they say, they punished themselves.

The security of freight en route to Armenia was also discussed at the press conference. At present, about 200 trains are abandoned. As a result, over 5 days alone, freight worth more than R28,000 was stolen from them on the Transcaucasian and Azerbaijan Railroads. Between 13 and 15 October, 67 out of the 250 assembled homes delivered to Leninakan had some kind of damage.

Summing up, the deputy minister said that, despite the traffic basically returning to normal, the congestion of cars is quite serious. No fewer than 35 to 40 days will be needed in order to completely stabilize the situation on the railroads of this region.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Daily Procedures

Investigations and Experiments

LD2010130689 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—TASS Correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the manned Mir complex continues to carry out the scheduled investigations and experiments.

Under the programme of geophysical experiments, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov take daily pictures of the earth surface with photo- and TV-equipment. Over the past few days they have photographed territories in the Ukraine, the Krasnodar and Stavropol regions, and Turkmenia. Still to come are Moldavia, the southern Ukraine and the Caspian depression. Information from space is useful for specialists in various branches of science and the national economy. The experiments also involve transmitting photos from space directly to users in various regions of the Soviet Union.

Another cycle of astrophysical investigations studied the interaction of the space particle flow and the earth magnetosphere. It was completed early today with the help of "Mariya" spectrometer.

According to the plan involving the automatic cargo spacecraft "Progress M", tanks of the united propulsion unit and the station were refuelled with fuel components.

Work on near-Earth orbit is continuing according to schedule. Both cosmonauts feel well.

Cosmic Exposure

LD2010155189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are continuing their flight. The other day they had a surprise. Here is what Vladislav Mikhaylovich Petrov, Candidate of Sciences and head of the Radiation Safety Service of the flight, said.

[Begin Petrov recording] As a rule, our work has not given us much trouble for a simple reason. The orbit of the 'Mir' station is situated in near-Earth space in such a way that the geomagnetic field protects the crew very efficiently. Cosmic rays, which consist of flows of charged particles—galactic, solar and those of the radiation belts of Earth—are the main sources. So, the first two deviate very considerably, deflected as they are by the geomagnetic field from the area occupied by the orbit of the 'Mir' station. Therefore, usually, low doses penetrate the space craft. These doses are in the range of 15-20 to 30-40 millirem per 24 hours.

Normally we observe a fairly stable and quiet radiation situation, but on 29 September this year an event took place which changed matters essentially. Sun flares are such events today. These are processes which occur in the solar chromosphere and in certain situations they can be linked with the generation of large flows of heavy charged particles—protons, mainly. Such an event took place at 1420 on 29 September.

To be able to forecast a change in the solar radiation situation, one has to see the sun. But, on the 29th, there was an unusual situation. In other words, the flare that generated a flow of protons, which caused a change in the radiation conditions along the flight route, occurred behind the western limb of the sun. Naturally, we could not see the flare in optic light and we discovered the solar limb only when the fastest particles, which naturally reach the Earth first, were registered by ground stations.

Comparisons with the norms which exist for such an exotic occurrence as solar flare, were carried out right away. These norms say that the figure of 50 rem is a criterion for evaluating the level of hazard of a single powerful exposure to a solar flare. A millirem means one-thousandth of a rem. In other words, the evaluation within the first 24 hours after the flare was several tenths of a rem, while the criterion is 50 rem. As you see, the difference is 100-fold.

A more specified estimation was carried out which gave the value of 0.6 rem as an evaluation for 48 hours. And later readings of the onboard radiometer confirmed fairly well the evaluations obtained. No, the intensity was not small but the geomagnetic field helped us greatly here. A non-disturbed geomagnetic field attenuates the dose by 300-400 times, and the dose directed at the crew during that flare amounted to approximately the same value that patients receive during an X-ray examination of the lungs.

Carrier Rocket Launches To Pacific Ocean End

LD1910161589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1544 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 October (TASS)—In connection with the end of planned launches of carrier rockets, TASS has been authorized to announce that the Pacific Ocean regions bound by a circumference with a radius of 30 nautical miles each and with their centers at coordinates of 22 degrees 35 minutes northern latitude, 174 degrees 10 minutes eastern longitude and 17 degrees 10 minutes northern latitude, 175 degrees 15 minutes eastern longitude, will be free for navigation and aircraft flights beginning 20 October 1989.

Scientist Defends Use of Nuclear Energy

PM1910101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Physicomathematical Sciences O. Kazachkovskiy under the rubric "Scientists on Power": "Necessary Atom"]

[Text] There is no need to prove that society's power requirements are constantly growing and power engineering, despite even the forecast increase in the efficiency of its use, must develop. There are various means of generating energy with their own potential and their own limitations. To choose the optimum variations, alongside saving, it is essential to consider ecological safety in the normal, routine operational regime and the safety of the servicing personnel and the population of the surrounding area.

A certain general ecological limitation could in principle be the change in the heat balance on earth because of the excessive generation of energy. At present all heat generated per unit of time while burning organic fuel (petroleum, coal, gas) and also using nuclear fuel comprises just one hundredth of one percent of the total flow of solar energy reaching the surface of the earth and is approximately commensurable with the heat which emerges from underground. It would seem we are still a long way from the limit. But with even a tenfold increase in the generation of electricity signs of a global change to the climate may appear. Perhaps it is for this reason that in future we will have to introduce energy quotas for various countries.

What must be done to avoid an energy "famine?" Just one thing—develop nuclear power. It has indisputable advantages. Nuclear fuel—uranium and also artificially obtained plutonium—has colossal calorific power. That is why in particular nuclear electric power stations [AES's] are not tied to uranium deposits. Uranium can be transported even by aircraft. There is no need, as is the case in thermal electric power stations, for the almost continuous input of enormous volumes of fuel. Nuclear fuel is placed in the reactor in advance in a quantity sufficient to ensure the AES's continuous operation for many months.

With normal operation in all regimes the AES is an ecologically pure source of energy. It consumes nothing from the air (unless you count ordinary ventilation) and discharges nothing into the atmosphere. That is its tremendous, overwhelming advantage compared with thermal electric power stations. There is no pollution of the atmosphere and no greenhouse effect.

Economically the AES is in general more advantageous than thermal electric power stations although the structure of its expenditure is different—relative capital expenses are higher but the fuel component is lower. Known stocks of nuclear fuel in the world calculated on the basis of a second-generation AES' use in energy equivalent are tens of times greater than stocks of all mineral fuel as a whole. It may be said that nuclear power in the technological and economic respects has appeared at precisely the right time, when limitations began to appear in the development of traditional power. That is why, since the commissioning of the first AES in 1954, it has become widespread. Throughout the world there are now over 400 nuclear power station units now operating with a total yield of about 300 million kilowatts. In France 70 percent of all electricity is generated in nuclear power stations while in Bulgaria the figure is about 35 percent, in the FRG 30 percent, in Japan 25 percent, in Finland 20 percent, and in the United States 17 percent. The proportion of electricity generated on AES's in our country is about 12 percent.

The main question which excites minds today is the question of the safety of AES's. There is no denying that Chernobyl was a terrible accident whose consequences will be felt for a long time yet in the afflicted regions. But to conclude from this that there is some fatal inevitability of similar accidents occurring and that it is impossible to protect the biosphere from the pernicious effect of radioactivity and that for this reason we should demand the renunciation of nuclear energy is absolutely wrong.

Perhaps one of the reasons for distrust in nuclear power is the lack of concrete information.

However that may be, after Chernobyl we must act as we always do: Derive lessons from the accident which took place and take steps to prevent such accidents in the future. That is precisely what specialists are doing.

It must be said that there is great potential for substantially increasing the safety of AES's. I in no way want to justify all those involved in the Chernobyl accident but I shall note, above all, that the exceptionally rapid development of nuclear power has to some extent prevented us from promptly considering all necessary aspects of the problem of safety in all its entirety.

What are the specific ways of increasing security at AES's? In this case it is a question of what is the dominating potential danger specific to AES's—the destruction of the reactor's fuel core and the discharge of accumulated radioactive fission products (fragments) and other radioactive substances. On this plane it is worth hypothetically dividing the safety problem into three related tasks, each of which can be resolved independently.

The first is the prevention of the causes which could potentially lead to the destruction of the fuel core (equipment breakdowns, personnel errors).

The second is, if such errors do occur, to restrict the development of the accident process in order to prevent it from reaching the point of the destruction of the fuel core.

The third, if this has nonetheless happened, is to localize the radioactivity and prevent its dissemination beyond the damaged unit.

The first task is resolved by further increasing the reliability of equipment thanks to structural and technological improvements, stricter control, and so forth. The qualifications of personnel, apart from anything else, will be improved thanks to the creation of specialized educational establishments covering a narrow range of skills for training and retraining cadres (like the nuclear power institute recently created in Obninsk, for instance). In addition special simulators will be installed at every AES both for regular professional training sessions and for checking and selecting personnel for their personal qualities (attentiveness, concentration, and speed of reaction).

The second task—increasing the stability of the reactor—should naturally be resolved by the further improvement of the control system. It is already a high-class system now capable, in particular, of switching the reactor to safe modes of operation when there are various kinds of equipment breakdown and personnel errors including when the two occur simultaneously. But however much you improve things, the possibility of an unforeseen situation arising from some seemingly inconceivable combination of errors and failures cannot in principle be ruled out. That is why it is very important that the reactor possess internal stability, that is the ability to counter various disturbances and violations without outside interference, that is without the participation of the control system.

Existing reactors possess to some degree or other internal stability which is ensured on the basis of favorable reactivity negative feedback systems. These feedback systems could be improved by improving the physics of the reactor. The relevant potential differs for different types of reactors. For instance, a high degree of internal stability was recently demonstrated in special experiments at a fast neutron reactor in the United States.

If we are speaking of the degree of invulnerability with regard to personnel errors, then to use American terminology the reactor should be "foolproof" and "professorproof." The latter is particularly important because the "professor," that is the specialist, who imagines himself to be infallible, can make serious errors which no one else would hit upon. It must be admitted that by the time of the accident the Chernobyl reactor was not sufficiently "professorproof" and there were unfortunately "professors" there who undertook with such self confidence such a risky and not very considered experiment. Self confidence as a result cost us dear. The physical specifications of all reactors of this type have now been improved.

The third task is being resolved by ensuring reliable protection on the paths of the possible penetration of radioactivity into the environment. As a rule there is a minimum of two barriers in all reactors preventing the seepage of radioactivity. The first is the casing of the fuel element containing the nuclear fuel, preventing fragments from seeping into the coolant. The second is the casing of the pipelines and the equipment of the coolant circuit preventing the coolant from leaking. For greater reliability the reactor itself and the coolant circuit as a whole in many cases are contained within a quite reliable airtight casing—the third barrier. It was this casing which saved the day during the very large scale accident involving the complete destruction of the fuel core in a "TIMI" reactor in the United States in 1979. Many of the reactors in operation in our country have similar casings and all reactors which are being newly constructed must be equipped with them.

Naturally, the AES's must be geared to the possibility of particular natural disasters, above all earthquakes. It seems to me that antiseismic measures in the plan should be based not only on the toughness but also on the pliancy and resilience of structures. It is worth noting that AES's are located in zones of increased seismicity not only in Japan but also elsewhere, particularly, for instance, on the West Coast of the United States, where the famous San Andreas fault passes.

And another important question—the quality of the plan. This problem is a common one going beyond the framework of nuclear power engineering. People are people and errors are not ruled out even in collective activity. Group conformism can still appear. In my view, in this connection we must be concerned for substantially improving the standard of expert examinations. Usually individuals from among the leading specialists in their field are enlisted to provide expert examinations for important projects. Does that seem sensible? In reality it is far from the case. The leading experts have no time and even if they did have time it is physically impossible for one man to check in detail the usually extensive and painstaking calculations which justify a major project. As a result, having acquainted himself cursorily with the plan and having made routine remarks, the expert gives as a whole a most authoritative positive response which becomes virtually indisputable. I believe that there is some point in assigning the expert examination not to individuals but to organizations of the same speciality, including the examination in their plan and setting sufficiently acceptable time limits. It is necessary that important calculations and above all those connected with ensuring safety should be duplicated independently and in full. I remember how at one conference I.V. Kurchatov refused to accept recommendations on the importance of several nuclear parameters obtained in just one laboratory. He believed that such important values should be measured independently in at least two laboratories. If they coincide then they may be considered correct. This approach should apply not only to initial nuclear data.

Ensuing the level of safety is not restricted only to AES's. The fuel cycle enterprises dealing with irradiated fuel are also important. Here, too, there can be a leakage of radioactivity. But we must bear in mind that irradiated fuel (just like fuel that has not been irradiated) should necessarily be processed and transported in relatively small quantities and the radioactivity emitted in the event of an accident will not be great.

The question of getting rid of radioactive waste formed during fuel processing is another matter. This waste is basically fragments which, because of their great total radioactivity, present in principle the greatest danger. The problem has not yet been definitively resolved, that is the optimum technological options for getting rid of waste have not been determined. However, in my view here are a number of mitigating provisions and circumstances. For their initial decline in radioactivity the fragments are kept at the AES in the processed fuel in which they were formed. After its chemical cleaning (for reuse) the waste with the fragments, usually in very compact form, can be stored and kept for a very long time under controlled conditions. The total number of fragments formed every year at all AES's in our country is about 30 tonnes. In the process of further storage, the fragments' radioactivity will continue to decline. If you have in mind the first-generation reactors, and they will exist for a long time yet, then 200-250 years after their formation, fragments, in terms of radiation yield (that is the main criterion) will reach the level of the natural uranium from which the nuclear fuel was produced. They can be calmly disposed of in the ground in the place of the uranium which has been extracted. The radiation balance in nature is not destroyed here. The waste could be disposed of in deep, isolated strata of the earth even earlier. Among the long-lived fragments there are some essential for industrial use—cesium, strontium, technetium, and possibly samarium. They can be isolated and stored (or used) separately. The transuranic elements which accumulate must also be stored and not buried because they could serve as nuclear fuel for second-generation reactors. I note, finally, that the problem of burying very long-lived fragments is not as acute as is sometimes suggested. The longer their life, the less their radioactivity and in addition the less their radiation energy. In nature there are many radioactive isotopes with a very long half-life. We do not notice them and they present no danger.

To end, I will stress that we feel anguish for the regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia which have suffered so much because of Chernobyl. Great grief for the people who have left their homes and their native land and lost their property. Everyone has sympathized with them and tried to help them as they could. But I can in no way share the views of Ukrainian and other journalists who in their righteous indignation, alas, go to the extreme of rejecting nuclear energy altogether. The Ukraine is particularly dear to me, it is my homeland. I certainly do not want the Ukraine, remaining without nuclear energy, to involuntarily become increasingly shrouded in toxic gas clouds and showered with deadly acid rain.

Nuclear power is our destiny, our future. There is no other way. The atom can and must be good to man. It all depends on us. I allow myself to express the conviction that public opinion, and those who at present oppose it, will sooner or later understand and agree with this.

Academician Criticizes Soviet Space Program

LD2010213389 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Academician Vasiliy Mishin has lashed out at Soviet cosmonautics.

This prominent scholar, who was the right hand of Sergey Korolev, the late general constructor of Soviet space systems, and who took over after his death, told PRAVDA that the Soviet Union was too keen on developing a wide variety of cargo rockets, requiring huge spending, and on dull long-duration piloted flights in the cramped "Salyut-Mir" system, which tend to repeat each other.

"This is very squanderous", he said, "automatic production processes should be developed in outer space and high-class specialists should be trained to assemble, service and repair the equipment involved, to ship back to Earth the manufactured goods and carry out rescue operations", he said.

The scientist agreed that the "energiya-Buran" was a "huge achievement of our aviation and space rocket engineering". But he does not see how it could be put to practical use within the next few decades.

"It would have been much better to spend money on improving space equipment. Our communication sputniks have a service life which is 50-66 per cent shorter than that of their American counterparts. If we could increase it to 5-10 years, our communication services would be greatly improved".

Mishin revealed that plans for a multi-purpose orbital complex were conceived under his direction already in 1970. They provided for extensive studies of the near-Earth space within the Earth-Moon radius, contributing, among other things, to the solution of food, energetics and ecological problems. The near-space should be "studded" with numerous useful devices with the help of a minimum number of ground and orbit-based unified space facilities.

They could serve to influence the climate and to light cities by means of a system of mirrors concentrating sun rays, to distant- control automatic noxious or dangerous production facilities and nuclear power plants. Such enterprises could then be sited in safe unpopulated territories. In addition to this, noxious productions could be carried out into outer space where all the spatial tchnological potentialities could be used—high and low temperatures, deep vacuum and microgravitation.

Academician Mishin believes that the development of Soviet cosmonautics has been obstructed by "monopolism and excessive secrecy, nepotism and political chicanery in the race for assignments and funds". He believes that open contests for the best projects are now needed. Plans, ideas and suggestions should be discussed openly and scrutinised by expert commissions which would pick out the best.

Only such projects, the need and soundness of which are clear to the public, should be subsequently carried out.

Military

Yazov Addresses Ideological Workers Meeting

LD2210140789 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The Soviet Union will never be the first to start combat operations and to use nuclear weapons. It has no territorial claims to anyone and does not treat any state as its enemy. The newspaper RED STAR quoted Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov as telling an army meeting of ideological workers.

Yazov stressed the importance of understanding the purely defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine. It is subordinated to the task of preventing war, proceeds from the need to lower the level of military confrontation, to stop the arms race and to implement measures of real disarmament, to realise the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency, the minister stressed. As the Soviet Union carries out unilateral large-scale cuts, the emphasis in defence construction should be shifted from quantity to quality.

Under these conditions, said Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, the ideological cadres should be able to answer the most poignant questions, not to lose political initiative. A new political and moral atmosphere has been asserted in the army and the navy under perestroika, he pointed out. There are no anti-socialist feelings in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Mention of Black Sea 'Aircraft Carrier' Corrected

PM2310094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Aircraft-Carrying Cruiser"]

[Text] The feature "Flagship," carried by PRAVDA 19 October, covered the new Soviet ship "Tbilisi" now under construction in Nikolayev. It is reported from the Navy Main Staff that, through no fault of the author, the material contained a technical inaccuracy. "Tbilisi" falls within the category of **heavy aircraft-carrying cruisers** and not within that of aircraft carriers, as said in the feature and in the commentary by Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander of the Navy.